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# STUDIES

IN

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY A COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENTS  
OF GREEK, LATIN, ARCHÆOLOGY, AND  
COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

VOLUME IV

CHICAGO

The University of Chicago Press

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The Departments of Greek, Latin, Archaeology, and Comparative Philology in the University of Chicago publish, at irregular intervals, papers written by instructors and graduate students of the University upon subjects within the general domain of classical philology. The papers are collected in volumes, but are also sold separately.

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## SANCTAE SILVIAE PEREGRINATIO.<sup>1</sup>

[*Multa Desunt.*]

I. ostendebantur iuxta scripturas. Interea ambulantes per- 31  
uenimus ad quendam locum, ubi sex tamen montes illi, inter quos  
ibamus. aperiebant et faciebant uallem infinitam ingens planis-  
sima et ualde pulchram. Et trans uallem apparebat mons sanctus  
5 Dei Syna. Hic autem locus, ubi se montes aperiebant, iunctus  
est cum eo loco, quo sunt memoriae concupiscentiae. In eo ergo  
loco cum uenitur, ut tamen commonuerunt deductores sancti illi,  
qui nobiscum erant, dicentes: "Consuetudo est, ut fiat hic oratio  
ab his qui ueniunt, quando de eo loco primitus uidetur mons Dei ;  
10 sicut et nos fecimus." Habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei  
forsitan quattuor milia totum per ualle illa, quam dixi ingens.

II. Vallis autem ipsa ingens est ualde, iacens subter latus  
montis Dei, quae habet forsitan, quantum potuimus uidentes esti-  
mare aut ipsi dicebant, in longo milia passos forsitan sedecim, in  
15 lato autem quattuor milia esse appellabant. Ipsam ergo uallem  
nos trauersare habebamus, ut possimus montem ingredi. Haec  
est autem uallis ingens et planissima, in qua filii Israhel commo-  
rati sunt his diebus, quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem  
Domini et fuit ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus.  
20 Haec est autem uallis, in qua factus est uitulus: qui locus usque  
in hodie ostenditur. Nam lapis grandis ibi fixus stat in ipso loco.  
Haec ergo uallis ipsa est, in cuius capite ille locus est, ubi sanctus  
Moyses, cum pasceret pecora soceri sui, iterum locutus est ei Deus  
de rubo in igne. Et quoniam nobis ita erat iter, ut prius montem  
25 Dei ascenderemus, qui hinc paret, unde ueniebamus melior ascen-  
sus erat, et illuc denuo ad illud caput uallis descenderemus, id est

<sup>1</sup> The text is based upon a copy of the manuscript at Arezzo, made by Mr. O. M. Washburn, fellow of the University of Chicago. With the exception of the punctuation and the abbreviations, an attempt has been made to reproduce the exact reading of the manuscript, even in instances of obvious error.

ubi rubus erat, quia melior descensus montis Dei erat. Inde itaque ergo hoc placuit, ut uisis omnibus, quae desiderabamus, descendentes a monte Dei, ubi est rubus ueniremus, et inde totum per mediam uallem ipsam, qua iacet in longo, rediremus ad iter cum hominibus Dei, qui nobis singula loca quae scripta sunt per ipsam uallem ostendebant, sicut et factum est. Nobis ergo euntibus ab eo loco, ubi uenientes a Faran feceramus orationem, iter sic fuit, ut per medium transuersarem caput ipsius uallis et sic plecaremus nos ad montem Dei. Mons autem ipse per giro quidem unus esse uidetur; intus autem quod ingrederis, plures sunt sed totum mons Dei appellatur, specialis autem ille, in cuius summitate est hic locus, ubi descendit maiestas Dei, sicut scriptum est, in medio illorum | omnium est. Et cum hi omnes, qui per girum sunt, tam excelsi sunt quam nunquam me puto uidisse, tamen ipse ille medianus, in quo descendit maiestas Dei, tanto altior est omnibus illis, ut cum subissemus in illo, prorsus toti illi montes, quos excelsos uideramus, ita infra nos essent ac si colliculi permodici essent. Illud sane satis admirabile est et sine Dei gratia puto illud non esse, ut cum omnibus altior sit ille medianus, qui specialis Syna dicitur, id est in quo descendit maiestas Domini, tamen uideri non possit, nisi ad propriam radicem illius ueneris, ante tamen quam eum subeas. Nam postea quam completo desiderio descenderis inde et de contra illum uides, quod ante quam subeas, facere non potest. Hoc autem, antequam perueniremus ad montem Dei, iam referentibus fratribus cognoueram; et postquam ibi perueni, ita esse manifeste cognoui.

III. Nos ergo sabbato sera ingressi sumus montem et peruenientes ad monasteria quaedam susceperunt nos ibi satis humane monachi, qui ibi commorabantur, praebentes nobis omnem humanitatem. Nam et aeclesia ibi est cum presbytero: ibi ergo mansimus in ea nocte. Et inde maturius die dominica cum ipso presbytero et monachis, qui ibi commorabantur, cepimus ascendere montes singulos; qui montes cum infinito labore ascenduntur, quoniam non eos subis lente et lente per girum, ut dicimus in cocleas, sed totum ad directum subis ac si per parietem; et ad

directum descendi necesse est singulos ipsos montes donec peruenias ad radicem propriam illius mediani, que est specialis Syna. Hac sic ergo, iubente Christo Deo nostro, adiuta orationibus sanctorum qui comitabantur, et sic cum grandi labore, quia pedibus me ascendere necesse erat, quia prorsus nec in sella ascendi poterat, tamen ipse labor non sentiebatur. Ex ea parte autem non sentiebatur labor, quia desiderium quod habebam iubente Deo uidebam compleri. Hora ergo quarta peruenimus in summitatem illam montis Dei sancti Syna, ubi data est lex, in eo id est loco, ubi descendit maiestas Domini in ea die qua mons fumigabat. In eo ergo loco est nunc ecclesia non grandis, quoniam et ipse locus, id est summitas montis, non satis grandis est: quae tamen aecclesia habet de se gratiam grandem. Cum ergo iubente Deo persubissemus in ipsa summitate et peruenissemus ad hostium ipsius ecclesiae, ecce et occurrit presbyter ueniens | de monasterio 33 suo, qui ipsi ecclesie deputabatur, senex integer et monachus a prima uita et, ut hic dicunt, ascitis et quid plura? qualis dignus est esse in eo loco. Occurrerunt etiam et alii presbyteri, nec non etiam et omnes monachi qui ibi commorabantur iuxta montem illum, id est qui tamen aut etate aut inbecillitate non fuerunt impediti. Verum autem in ipsa summitate montis mediani nullus commanet: nichil enim est ibi aliud nisi sola ecclesia et spelunca, ubi fuit sanctus Moyses. Lecto ergo ipso loco omnia de libro Moysi et facta oblatione ordine suo, hac sic communicantibus nobis, iam ut exiremus de aecclesia, dederunt nobis presbyteri loci ipsius eulogias, id est de pomis quae in ipso monte nascuntur. Nam cum ipse mons sanctus Syna totus petrinus sit, ita ut nec fruticem habeat, tamen deorsum prope radicem montium ipsorum, id est seu circa illius qui medianus est seu circa illorum qui per giro sunt, modica nerrola est: statim sancti monachi pro diligentia sua arbusculas ponunt et pomariola instituunt uel orationes, et iuxta sibi monasteria, quasi ex ipsius montis terra aliquos fructus capiant: quos tamen manibus suis elaborasse uideantur. Hac sic ergo postea quam communicaueramus et dederant nobis 35 eulogias sancti illi et egressi sumus foras hostium ecclesiae, tunc cepi eos rogare ut ostenderent nobis singula loca. Tunc statim

illi sancti dignati sunt singula ostendere. Nam ostenderunt nobis speluncam illam, ubi fuit sanctus Moyses, cum iterato ascendisset in montem Dei, ut acciperet denuo tabulas, postea quam priores illas fregerat peccante populo, et cetera loca, quaecumque desiderabamus, uel quae ipsi melius nouerant, dignati sunt ostendere nobis. Illud autem uos uolo scire, dominae uenerabiles sorores, qui de eo loco ubi stabamus, id est in giro parietes ecclesiae, id est de summitate montis ipsius mediani, ita infra nos uidebantur esse illi montes, quos primitus uix ascenderamus, iuxta istum medianum, in quo stabamus, ac si essent illi colliculi. Cum tamen ita infiniti essent, ut non me putarem aliquando altiores uidisse, nisi quod hic medianus eos nimium praecedebat. Egyptum autem et Palestinam et mare rubrum et mare illud Parthenicum, quod mittit Alexandriam, nec non et fines Saracenorum infinitos ita subter nos inde uidebamus, ut credi uix possit; quae tamen singula nobis illi sancti demonstrabant.

IV. Completo ergo omni desiderio, quo festinaueramus | ascendere, cepimus iam et descendere ab ipsa summitate montis Dei, in qua ascenderamus in alio monte, qui ei periunctus est. Qui locus appellatur in Choreb; ibi enim est ecclesia. Nam hic est locus Choreb, ubi fuit sanctus Helias propheta, qua fugit a facie Achab regis, ubi ei locutus est Deus dicens: "Quid tu hic Helias?" sicut scriptum est in libris regnorum. Nam et spelunca, ubi latuit sanctus Helias, in hodie ibi ostenditur ante hostium ecclesiae, quae ibi est; ostenditur etiam ibi altarium lapideum quem posuit ipse sanctus Helias ad offerendum Deo, sicut et illi sancti singula nobis ostendere dignabantur. Fecimus ergo et ibi oblationem et orationem impensissimam, et lectus est ipse locus de libro regnorum; id enim nobis uel maxime ea desideraueram semper, ut, ubicumque uenissemus, semper ipse locus de libro legeretur. Facta ergo et ibi oblatione, accessimus denuo ad alium locum, non longe inde ostendentibus presbyteris uel monachis, id est ad eum locum, ubi steterat sanctus Aaron cum septuaginta senioribus, cum sanctus Moyses acciperet a Domino legem ad filios Israhel. In eo ergo loco, licet et tectum non sit, tamen petra ingens est per girum habens planitiem supra se, in



qua stetisse dicuntur ipsi sancti. Nam et in medio ibi quasi altarium de lapidibus factum habet. Lectus est ergo et ibi ipse locus de libro Moysi et dictus unus psalmus aptus loco: hac sic facta oratione descendimus inde.

- 5      Ecce et coepit iam esse hora forsitan octaua, et adhuc nobis superabant milia tria, ut perexiremus montes ipsos quos ingressi fuera-  
 10      mus pridie sera; sed non ipsa parte exire habebamus, quia intraueramus, sicut superius dixi, quia necesse nos erat et loca omnia sancta ambulare et monasteria quaecumque erant ibi uidere  
 15      et sic aut uallis illius, quam superius dixi, caput exire, id est huius uallis quae subiacet montis Dei. Propterea autem ad caput ipsius uallis exire nos necesse erat, quoniam ibi erant monasteria plurima sanctorum hominum et ecclesia in eo loco, ubi est rubus: qui rubus usque in hodie uiuet et mittet uirgultas. Ac sic ergo  
 20      perdescenso monte Dei, peruenimus ad rubum hora forsitan decima. Hic autem rubus, quem superius dixi, de quo locutus est Dominus Moysi in igne, qui est in eo loco ubi monasteria sunt plurima et ecclesia in capite uallis ipsius. Ante ipsam autem ecclesiam hortus est gratissimus ha-  
 25      bens aquam optimam abundan- 35  
 30      tem, in quo horto ipse rubus est. Locus etiam ostenditur ibi iuxta, ubi stetit sanctus Moyses, quando ei dixit Deus: "Solue corrigiam calciamenti tui" et cetera. Et in eo ergo loco cum peruenissemus, hora decima erat iam, et ideo quia iam sera erat, oblationem facere non potuimus. Sed facta est oratio in ecclesia,  
 35      nec non etiam et in horto ad rubum; lectus est etiam locus ipse de libro Moysi iuxta consuetudinem: et sic, quia sera erat, gustauimus nobis locum in horto ante rubum cum sanctis ipsis: ac sic ergo fecimus ibi mansionem. Et alia die maturius uigilantes rogauimus presbyteros ut et ibi fieret oblatio, sicut et facta est.  
 40      V. Et quoniam nobis iter sic erat, ut per ualle illa media, qua tenditur per longum, iremus, id est illa ualle quam superius dixi, ubi sederant filii Israhel, dum Moyses ascenderet in montem Dei et descenderet. Itaque ergo singula, quae ad modum uenimus per ipsam totam uallem, semper nobis sancti illi loca demon-  
 45      strabant. Nam in primo capite ipsius uallis, ubi manseramus et uideramus rubum illum, de quo locutus est Deus sancto Moysi in

igne, uideramus etiam et illum locum, in quo steterat ante rubum sanctus Moyses, quando ei dixit Deus: "Solue corrigiam calciamenti tui: locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est." Ac sic ergo cetera loca, quemadmodum profecti sumus de rubo, semper nobis ceperunt ostendere. Nam et monstrarerunt locum, ubi fuerunt castra filiorum Israhel his diebus quibus Moyses fuit in montem. Monstrarerunt etiam locum, ubi factus est uitululus ille. Nam in eo loco fixus est usque in hodie lapis grandis. Nos etiam, quemadmodum ibamus, de contra uidebamus summitatem montis, que inspiciebat super ipsa ualle tota, de quo loco sanctus Moyses, uidit filios Israhel habentes choros his diebus qua fecerant uitululum. Ostenderunt etiam petram ingentem in ipso loco, ubi descendebat sanctus Moyses cum Jehu filio Naue, ad quem petram iratus fregit tabulas quas afferebat. Ostenderunt etiam quemadmodum per ipsam uallem unusquisque eorum abitationes habuerant, de quibus abitationibus usque in hodie adhuc fundamenta parent, quemadmodum fuerunt lapide girata. Ostenderunt etiam locum, ubi filios Israhel iussit currere sanctus Moyses de porta in porta, regressus ad montem. Item ostenderunt nobis locum, ubi incensus est uitululus ipse iubente sancto Moyse, quem fecerat eis Aaron. Item ostenderunt torrentem illum, de quo portauit sanctus Moyses filios Israhel, sicut scriptum est in Exodo. Ostenderunt etiam nobis locum, ubi de spiritu Moysi acceperunt septuaginta uiri. Item ostenderunt locum, ubi filii Israhel habuerunt concupiscentiam escarum. Nam ostenderunt nobis etiam et illum locum, qui appellatus est incendium, quia incensa est quedam pars castrorum: tunc qua orante sancto Moyse cessauit ignis. Ostenderunt etiam et illum locum, ubi eis pluit manna et coturnices. Ac sic ergo singula quaecumque scripta sunt in libris sanctis Moysi facta fuisse in eo loco, id est in ea ualle quam dixi subiaceri monti Dei, id est sancto Syna, ostensa sunt nobis: quae quidem omnia singulatim scribere satis fuit, quia nec retinere poterant tanta. Sed cum leget affectio uestra libros sanctos Moysi, omnia diligentius peruidet quae ibi facta sunt. Haec est ergo uallis, ubi celebrata est pascha completo anno perfectionis filiorum Israhel de terra Egypti, quoniam in ipsa ualle

Israhel commorati sunt aliquandiu, id est donec sanctus Moyses  
ascenderet in montem Dei et descenderet primum et iterato. Et  
denuo tandiu ibi immorati sunt donec fieret tabernaculum et  
singula quae ostensa sunt in montem Dei. Nam ostensus est  
5 nobis et ille locus, in quo confixus mos esset primitus tabernacu-  
lum et perfecta sunt singula quae iusserat Deus in montem Moysi  
ut fierent. Vidimus etiam in extrema iam ualle ipsa memorias  
concupiscentiae, in eo tamen loco in quo denuo reuersi sumus ad  
iter nostrum, hoc est ubi exeuntes de ualle illa grande reingressi  
10 sumus uia, qua ueneramus inter montes illos, quos superius dix-  
eram. Nam etiam ipsa die accessimus et ad ceteros monachos  
ualde sanctos, qui tamen pro etate aut inbecillitate occurrere in  
monte Dei ad oblationem faciendam non poterant: qui tamen nos  
dignati sunt in monasteriis suis aduenientes ualde humane sus-  
15 cipere. Ac sic ergo uisa loca sancta omnia quae desiderauimus,  
nec non etiam et omnia loca quae filii Israhel tetigerant eundo  
uel redeundo ad montem Dei. Visis etiam et sanctis uiris qui  
ibi commorabantur, in nomine Dei regressi sumus in Faran. Et  
licet semper Deo in omnibus gratias agere debeam, non dicam in  
20 his tantis et talibus quae circa me conferre dignatus est indignam  
et non merentem, ut perambularem omnia loca, quae mei meriti  
non erant: tamen etiam et illis omnibus sanctis nec sufficio gra-  
tias agere, qui meam paruitatem dignabantur in suis monasteriis  
libenti animo suscipere, uel certe per omnia loca | deducere, quae 37  
25 ego semper iuxta scripturas sanctas requirebam. Plurimi autem  
ex ipsis sanctis qui in montem Dei uel circa ipsum montem com-  
morabantur dignati sunt nos usque in Faran deducere, qui tamen  
fortiori corpore erant.

Ac sic ergo cum peruenissemus Faram, quod sunt a monte Dei  
30 milia triginta et quinque, necesse nos fuit ibi ad resumendum  
biduo immorari. Ac tertia die inde maturantes uenimus denuo  
ad mansionem, id est in desertum Faran, ubi et euntes mansera-  
mus, sicut et superius dixi. Inde denuo alia die facientes aquam  
et euntes adhuc aliquantulum inter montes peruenimus ad man-  
35 sionem, quae erat iam super mare, id est in eo loco ubi iam de  
inter montes exitur et incipitur denuo totum iam iuxta mare

ambulari; sic tamen iuxta mare, ut subito fluctus animalibus pedes cedat; subito etiam et in centum et in ducentis passus, aliquotiens etiam et plus quam quingentos passus de mari per heremum ambuletur: uia enim illic penitus non est, sed totum heremi sunt arenosae. Faranite autem, qui ibi consueverunt ambulare cum camelis suis, signa sibi locis et locis ponent; ad quae signa se tendent et sic ambulant per diem. Nocte autem signa cameli attendunt. Et quid plura? diligentius et securius iam in eo loco ex consuetudine Faranitae ambulant nocte quam aliqui hominum ambulare potest in his locis, ubi uia aperta est. In eo ergo loco de inter montes exiimus redeuntes, in quo loco et euntes inter montes intraueramus. Ac sic ergo denuo plicamus nos ad mare. Filii etiam Israhel reuertentes ad montem Dei Syna usque ad eum locum [reuersi sunt per iter quod ierant, id est usque ad eum locum] ubi de inter montes exiimus et iunximus nos denuo ad mare rubrum et inde nos iam iter nostrum, quo neneramus, reuersi sumus. Filii autem Israhel de eodem loco, sicut scriptum est in libris sancti Moysi, ambulauerunt iter suum. Nos autem eodem itinere et eisdem mansionibus quibus ieramus reuersi sumus in Clesma. In Clesma autem cum uenissemus, necesse nos fuit denno et ibi denno resumere, quoniam iter heremi arenosum nalde feceramus.

VII. Sane licet terra Gesse iam nosse, id est qua primitus ad Egyptum fueram, tamen ut peruiderem omnia loca, quae filii Israhel exeuntes de Ramesse tetigerant euntes, donec peruenirent usque ad mare rubrum, qui locus nunc de castro qui ibi est appellatur Clesma, desiderii ergo fuit ut | de Clesma ad terram Gesse exiremus, id est ad ciuitatem quae appellatur Arabia; quae cinitas in terra Gesse est. Nam inde ipsum territorium sic appellatur, id est terra Arabiae, terra Iesse; quae tamen terra Egypti pars est, sed melior satis quam omnis Egyptus est. Sunt ergo a Clesma, id est a mare rubro, usque ad Arabiam ciuitatem mansiones quattuor per heremo; sic tamen per heremum ut cata mansiones monasteria sint cum militibus et praepositis, qui nos deducebant semper de castro ad castrum. In eo ergo itinere sancti qui nobiscum erant, hoc est clerici uel monachi, ostendebant

- nobis singula loca, quae semper ego iuxta scripturas requirebam. Nam alia in sinistro, alia in dextro de itinere nobis erant, alia etiam longius de uia, alia in proximo. Nam michi credat uolo affectio uestra, quantum tamen peruidere potui, filios
- 5 Israhel sic ambulasse, ut quantum irent dextra, tantum reuertentur sinistra: quantum denuo in ante ibant, tantum denuo retro reuertebantur. Et sic fecerunt ipsum iter, donec peruenirent ad mare rubrum. Nam et Epauleum ostensum est nobis; de contra tamen et Magdalum fuimus. Nam castrum est ibi
- 10 nunc habens praepositum cum milite, qui ibi nunc praesidet pro disciplina Romana. Nam et nos iuxta consuetudinem deduxerunt inde usque ad aliud castrum et Ioebelsefon ostensum est nobis: immo in eo loco fuimus. Nam ipse est campus supra mare rubrum iuxta latus montis, quem superius dixi, ubi filii Israhel.
- 15 cum uidissent Egyptios post se uenientes, exclamauerunt. Oton etiam ostensum est nobis, quod est iuxta deserta loca, sicut scriptum est: nec non etiam et Socchoth. Socchoth autem est cliuus modicus in media ualle, iuxta quem colliculum fixerunt castra filii Israhel. Nam hic est locus, ubi accepta est lex paschae. Pithona
- 20 etiam ciuitas, quam edificauerunt filii Israhel, ostensa est nobis in ipso itinere. In eo tamen loco ubi iam fines Egypti intrauimus, relinquentes iam terras Saracenorum: nam et ipsud nunc Phitona castrum est. Heroum autem ciuitas quae fuit illo tempore, id est ubi occurrit Ioseph patri suo Iacob uenienti, sicut scriptum est
- 25 in libro Genesis, nunc est comes, sed grandis; quod nos dicimus uicus. Nam ipse uicus ecclesiam habet et martyria et monasteria plurima sanctorum monachorum; ad quae singula uidenda necesse nos fuit ibi descendere iuxta consuetudinem quam tenebamus. Nam ipse uicus nunc appellatur Hero: quae tamen Hero | a
- 30 terra Iesse miliario iam sexto decimo est: nam in finibus Egypti est. Locus autem ipse satis gratus est: nam et pars quedam fluminis Nili ibi currit. Ac sic ergo exeuntes de Hero peruenimus ad ciuitatem, que appellatur Arabia: quae est ciuitas in terra Iesse. Unde scriptum est dixisse Pharaonem ad Ioseph:
- 35 "In meliori terra Egypti colloca patrem tuum et fratres in terra Iessen, in terra Arabiae."



VIII. De Arabia autem ciuitate quattuor milia passus sunt  
 Ramessen. Nos autem, ut ueniremus ad mansionem Arabiae, per  
 media Ramesse transiuimus : quae Ramessen ciuitas nunc campus  
 est, ita ut nec unam habitationem habeat. Paret sane, quoniam  
 et ingens fuit per girum et multas fabricas habuit; ruinae enim  
 ipsius, quemadmodum collapsae sunt, in hodie infinitae parent.  
 Nunc autem ibi nichil aliud est nisi tantum unus lapis ingens  
 thebeus, in quo sunt duae statuæ exclusae ingentes, quas dicunt  
 esse sanctorum hominum, id est Moysi et Aaron. Nam dicent  
 eo quod filii Israhel in honore ipsorum eas posuerint. Et est ibi  
 praeterea arbor sicomori, quae dicitur a patriarchis posita esse :  
 nam iam uetustissima est et ideo permodica est, licet tamen adhuc  
 fructus afferat. Nam cuicumque in quo moditas fuerit, uadent  
 ibi et tollent surculos et prode illis est. Hoc autem referente  
 sancto episcopo de Arabia cognouimus. Nam ipse nobis dixit  
 nomen ipsius arboris, quemadmodum appellant eam grece, id est  
 dendrosa lethiae, quod nos dicimus arbor ueritatis. Qui tamen  
 sanctus episcopus nobis Ramessen occurrere dignatus est. Nam  
 est iam senior uir, uere satis religiosus, ex monacho et affabalis,  
 suscipiens peregrinos ualde bene. Nam et in scripturis Dei ualde  
 eruditus est. Ipse ergo cum se dignatus fuisset nexare et ibi  
 nobis occurrere, singula ibi ostendit seu retulit de illa statua,  
 quas dixi, ut etiam et de illa arbore sicomori. Nam et hoc nobis  
 ipse sanctus episcopus retulit eo quod Farao, quando uidit quod  
 filii Israhel dimiserant eum, tunc ille, priusquam post illos occu-  
 paret, issef cum omni exercitu suo intra Ramesse et incendisset  
 eam omnem, quia infinita erat ualde et inde post filios Israhel  
 fuisset profectus.

IX. Nobis autem fortuitu hoc gratissimum euenit, ut ea die,  
 qua uenimus ad mansionem Arabia, pridie beatissimo die epipha-  
 nia esset. Nam eadem die uigiliae agende erant in ecclesia. Ac  
 sic ergo aliquo biduo ibi tenuit nos sanctus episcopus, sanctus et  
 uere homo Dei, notus michi iam satis | de eo tempore, a quo ad  
 Thebaidam fueram. Ipse autem sanctus episcopus ex monacho  
 est. Nam a pisinno in monasterio nutritus est. Et ideo aut tam  
 eruditus in scripturis est aut tam emendatus in omni uita sua, ut

et superius dixi. Nos autem inde iam remisimus milites, qui nobis pro disciplina Romana auxilia praeberant, quandiu per loca suspecta ambulaueramus. Iam autem, quo ei iam, ager publicus erat per Egyptum, quod transiebatur per Arabiam ciuitatem, id est quod mittit de Thebaida in Pelusio; et ideo iam  
 5 non fuit necesse nexare milites. Proficiscentes ergo inde totum per terram Gessen iter fecimus semper inter uineas quae dant uinum et uineas quae dant balsamum et inter pomaria et agros cultissimos et hortos primos iter habuimus totum super ripam  
 10 fluminis Nili inter fundos frequentissimos, quae fuerant quondam uillae filiorum Israhel. Et quid plura? pulchriorem territorium puto me nusquam uidisse, quam est terra Iessen.

Ac sic ergo ab Arabia ciuitate iter facientes per biduo totum per terram Gessen peruenimus Tathnis, in ea ciuitate ubi natus  
 15 est sanctus Moyses. Haec est autem ciuitas Tathnis, quae fuit quondam metropolis Pharaonis. Et licet ea loca, ut superius dixi, iam nosse, id est quando Alexandriam uel ad Thebaidem fueram, tamen quia ad plenum discere uolebam loca quae ambulauerunt filii Israhel proficiscentes ex Ramesse usque ad montem  
 20 Dei sanctum Syna. Ac sic necesse fuit etiam denuo ad terram Gessen reuerti et inde Tathnis. Proficiscentes ergo de Tathnis, ambulans per iter iam notum perueni Pelusio; et inde proficiscens denuo, faciens iter per singulas mansiones Egypti, per quas iter habueramus, perueni ad fines Palaestinae, et inde in nomine  
 25 Christi Dei nostri faciens denuo mansiones aliquod per Palaestina regressa sum in Helia, id est in Ierusalem.

X. Item transacto aliquanto tempore et iubente Deo fuit denuo uoluntas accedendi usque ad Arabiam, id est ad montem Nabau, in eo loco in quo iussit Deus ascendere Moysen, dicens  
 30 ad eum: "Ascende in montem Arabot, montem Nabau, qui est in terra Moab contra faciem Iericho, et uide terram Chanaan, quam ego do filiis Israhel in possessionem, et morere in monte ipso in quem ascenderis." Itaque ergo Deus noster Iesus, qui sperantes in se non deseret, etiam in hoc uoluntati meae effectum praestare  
 35 dignatus est. Proficiscens ergo Ierusalem | lima faciens iter cum  
 41 sanctis, id est presbytero et diaconibus de Ierusalem et fratribus

aliquantis, id est monachis, peruenimus ergo usque ad eum locum Iordanis, ubi filii Israhel transierant, quando eos sanctus Iesus filius Naue Iordanem traiecerat, sicut scriptum est in libro Iesu Naue. Nam et locus ille ostensus est nobis, quasi modice altior, ubi filii Ruben et Gad et dimidia tribus Manasse fecerant aram. 5  
in ea parte ripae, qua est Iericho. Transeuntes ergo fluvium peruenimus ad ciuitatem, qui appellatur Libiada, quae est in eo campo, in quo tunc filii Israhel castra fixerant. Nam et fundamenta de castris filiorum Israhel et habitationibus ipsorum, ubi commorati sunt, in eo loco in hodie parent. Campus enim ipse 10  
est infinitus subter montes Arabiae super Iordanem. Nam hic est locus, de quo scriptum est: "Et plorauerunt filii Israhel Moysen in Arabot Moab et Iordane contra Iericho quadraginta diebus." Hic etiam locus est ubi post recessum Moysi statim Iesus filius 15  
Naue repletus est spiritu scientiae. Imposuerat enim Moyses manus suas super eum, sicut scriptum est. Nam ipse est locus, ubi scripsit Moyses librum Deuteronomii: hic etiam est locus, ubi locutus est Moyses in aures totius ecclesiae Israhel uerba 20  
cantici usque in finem huius, qui scriptus est in libro Deuteronomii. Hic est ipse locus, ubi benedixit sanctus Moyses homo de filio Israhel singulatim per ordinem ante obitum suum. Nos ergo cum uenissemus in eodem campo, peraccessimus ad locum 25  
ipsum, et facta est ibi oratio: lecta etiam pars quedam Deuteronomii in eo loco, nec non etiam et canticus ipsius, sed et benedictiones quas dixerat super filios Israhel, et iterato post lectione facta est oratio, et gratias Deo agentes mouimus inde. Id enim 30  
nobis semper consuetudinis erat, ut ubicumque ad loca desiderata accedere uolebamus, primum ibi fieret oratio, deinde legeretur lectio ipsa de codice, diceretur etiam psalmus unus pertinens ad rem, et iterato fieret oratio ibi. Hanc ergo consuetudinem iubente 35  
Deo semper tenuimus, ubicumque ad loca desiderata potuimus peruenire. Ac sic ergo, ut ceptum opus perficeretur, cepimus festinare, ut perueniremus ad montem Nabau. Euntibus nobis commonuit presbyter loci ipsius, id est de Libiadae, quae ipsum nobiscum rogantes moueramus de mansionem, quia melius ipsa 35  
loca nouerat. Dicit ergo nobis ipse presbyter: "Si uultis uidere



aquam, quae fluit de petra, id est quam dedit Moyses filiis Israhel  
sitientibus. potestis uidere: si tamen uolueritis laborem uobis  
imponere ut de uia camsemus | forsitan miliario sexto.” Quod 42  
cum dixisset, nos satis auidi optati sumus ire, et statim diuertentes  
5 a uia secuti sumus presbyterum, qui nos ducebat. In eo ergo  
loco ecclesia est pisinna subter montem, non Nabau, sed alterum  
interiorem: sed nec ipse longe est de Nabau. Monachi autem  
plurimi commanent ibi uere sancti et quos hic ascites nocant.

XI. Hi ergo sancti monachi dignati sunt nos suscipere ualde  
10 humane. Nam et ad salutationem suam permiserunt nos ingredi.  
Cum autem ingressi fuissemus ad eos, facta oratione cum ipsis,  
eulogias nobis dare dignati sunt, sicut habent consuetudinem  
dandi his quos humane suscipiunt. Ibi ergo inter ecclesiam et  
monasteria in medio fluit de petra aqua ingens pulchra ualde et  
15 limpida, soporis optimi. Tunc interrogauimus nos etiam et illos  
sanctos monachos, qui ibi manebant, quae esset haec aqua talis et  
tanti saporis. Tunc illi dixerunt: “Haec est aqua quam dedit  
sanctus Moyses filiis Israhel in hac heremo.” Facta est ergo  
iuxta consuetudinem ibi oratio et lectio ipsa de libris Moysi lecta,  
20 dictus etiam psalmus unus: et sic simul cum illis sanctis clericis  
et monachis, qui nobiscum uenerant, perexiimus ad montem.  
Multi autem et ex ipsis monachis sanctis, qui ibi commanebant  
iuxta aqua ipsa, qui tamen potuerunt imponere sibi laborem, dig-  
nati sunt nobiscum ascendere montem Nabau. Itaque ergo pro-  
25 ficiscentes de eodem loco peruenimus ad radicem montis Nabau,  
qui erat ualde excelsus, ita tamen ut pars eius maxima sedendo  
in asellis possit subiri: modice autem erat acrius, quod pedibus  
necesse erat subiri cum labore, sicut et factum est.

XII. Peruenimus ergo ad summitatem montis illius, ubi est  
30 nunc ecclesia non grandis in ipsa summitate montis Nabau; intra  
quam ecclesiam in eo loco, ubi pulpitus est, uidi locum modice  
quasi altiorem tantum hispatii habentem, quantum memoriae  
solent habere. Tunc ergo interrogaui illos sanctos, quidnam esset  
hoc; qui responderunt: “Hic positus est sanctus Moyses ab angelis,  
35 quoniam sicut scriptum est, sepulturam illius nullus hominum  
scit: quoniam certum est eum ab angelis fuisse sepultum. Nam

memoria illius. ubi positus sit. in hodie non ostenditur: sicut  
 enim nobis a maioribus, qui hic manserunt. ubi ostensum est, ita  
 et nos vobis monstramus: qui et ipsi tamen maiores ita sibi tra-  
 43 ditum a maioribus suis | esse dicebant." Itaque ergo mox facta  
 est oratio. et omnia quae in singulis locis sanctis per ordinem 5  
 consueueramus facere etiam et hic facta sunt: et sic cepimus  
 egredere de ecclesia. Tunc autem qui erant loci notores. id est  
 presbyteri vel monachi sancti, dixerunt nobis: "Si uultis uidere  
 loca, quae scripta sunt in libris Moysi. accedite foras hostium  
 ecclesiae et de summitate ipsa, ex parte tamen ut possunt hinc 10  
 parere attendite et uidete. Et dicimus vobis singula, quae sunt  
 loca haec quae parent." Tunc nos gauisi satis statim egressi  
 sumus foras. Nam de hostio ipsius ecclesiae uidimus locum. ubi  
 intrat Iordanis in mare mortuum: qui locus subter nos. quem-  
 admodum stabamus. parebat. Vidimus etiam de contra non solum 15  
 Libiadam, quae circa Iordanem erat. sed et Iericho. que trans  
 Iordanem tantum eminerat excelsus locus. ubi stabamus. id est  
 ante hostium ecclesiae. Maxima etiam pars Palaestinae. quae est  
 terra repromissionis, inde uidebatur. nec non et omnis terra Ior-  
 danis. in quantum tamen poterat oculis conspici. In sinistra 20  
 autem parte uidimus terras Sodomitarum omnes nec non et Segor;  
 quae tamen Segor sola de illis quinque in hodie constat. Nam  
 et memoriale ibi est: de ceteris autem illis ciuitatibus nichil aliud  
 apparet nisi subuersio ruinarum, quemadmodum in cinerem con-  
 uerse sunt. Locus etiam, ubi fuit titulus uxoris Loth, ostensus 25  
 est nobis; qui locus etiam in scripturis legitur. Sed michi  
 credite, domine uenerabiles. quia columna ipsa iam non paret:  
 locus autem ipse tantum ostenditur. Columna autem ipsa dicitur  
 mari mortuo fuisse quooperta. Certe locum [cum] uideremus.  
 columnam nullam uidimus. et ideo fallere uos super hanc rem 30  
 non possum. Nam episcopus loci ipsius. id est de Segor, dixit  
 nobis quoniam iam aliquot anni essent. a quo non pareret columna  
 illa. Nam de Segor forsitan sexto miliario ipse locus ubi stetit  
 columna illa, quod nunc totum cooperit aqua. Item de dextra 35  
 parte ecclesiae, a foras tamen. accessimus et ostense sunt nobis  
 inde a contra duae ciuitates, id est Esebon, quae fuit regis Seon

regis Amorreorum, quae nunc appellatur Exebon, et alia Og regis Basan, quae nunc dicitur Sasdra. Item de eodem loco ostensa est nobis a contra Fogor, quae fuit | ciuitas regni Edom. Hae 44  
autem ciuitates omnes quas uidebamus in montibus erant positae.  
5 Infra autem modice deorsum planior locus nobis uidebatur. Tunc dictum est nobis, quia in isdem diebus, qua sanctus Moyses uel filii Israhel contra illas ciuitates pugnauerant, castra ibi fixa habuissent. Nam et signa ibi parebant castrorum. Sane illa parte montis, quam dixi sinistra, quae erat super mare mortuum,  
10 ostensus est nobis mons praecisus ualde, qui dictus est ante Agri-secula. Hic est mons, in quo posuit Balac filius Beor Balaam diuinum ad maledicendos filios Israhel, et noluit Deus ita permittere, sicut scriptum est. Ac sic ergo uisis omnibus, quae desiderabamus, in nomine Dei reuertentes per Iericho et iter  
15 omne, quod iueramus, regressi sumus in Ierusalimam.

XIII. Item post aliquantum tempus uolui ad regionem Ausitidem accedere propter uisendam memoriam sancti Iob gratia orationis. Multos enim sanctos monachos uidebam inde uenientes in Ierusalimam ad uisenda loca sancta gratia orationis. Qui singula  
20 referentes de eisdem locis fecerunt magis desiderium imponendi michi laboris, ut etiam usque ad illa loca accederem; si tamen labor dici potest, ubi homo desiderium suum compleri uidet. Itaque ergo profecta sum de Ierusalima cum sanctis, qui tamen dignati sunt itineri meo comitatum praestare, et ipsi tamen  
25 gratia orationis. Habens ergo iter ab Ierusalima usque ad Carneas eundo per mansiones octo (Carneas autem dicitur nunc ciuitas Iob, quae ante dicta est Dennaba in terra Ausitidi, in finibus Idumaeae et Arabiae) in quo itinere hiens uidi super ripam Iordanis fluminis uallem pulchram satis et amenam, habundantem uineis et arboribus, quoniam aquae multae ibi erant et  
30 optimae satis. Nam in ea ualle uicus erat grandis, qui appellatur nunc Sedima. In eo ergo uico, qui est in media planitie positus, in medio loco est monticulus non satis grandis, sed factus sicut solent esse tumbae sed grandis; ibi ergo in summo ecclesia est  
35 et deorsum per girum ipsius colliculi parent fundamenta grandia antiqua. Nunc autem in ipso uico turbae aliquantulae commanent.

Ego autem cum uiderem locum tam gratum, requisivi, quisnam locus esset ille tam amenus. Tunc dictum est michi: "Haec est ciuitas regis Melchis, et haec quae dicta est ante Salem, unde nunc corrupto sermone Sedima appellatur ipse uicus. Nam in  
 45 isto colliculo. | qui est medio uico positus, in summitatem ipsius 5  
 fabricam, quam uides, ecclesia est. Quae ecclesia nunc appellatur greco sermone opumelchis. Et haec nam hic est locus, ubi optulit Melchisedech hostias Deo puras, id est panes et uinum, sicut scriptum est eum fecisse."

XIV. Statim ergo ut haec audiui, descendimus de animalibus, 10  
 et ecce occurrere dignatus est sanctus presbyter ipsius loci et clerici, qui nos statim suscipientes duxerunt suso ad ecclesiam. Ubi cum uenissemus, statim iuxta consuetudinem primum facta est oratio, deinde lectus est ipse locus de libro sancti Moysi, dictus est etiam psalmus unus competens loco ipsi, et denuo facta 15  
 oratione descendimus. Cum ergo descendissemus, ait nobis ille sanctus presbyter iam senior et de scripturis bene instructus, id est qui ipsi loco praeerat ex monacho, cui presbytero et episcopi plurimi, quantum postmodum cognouimus, uitae ipsius testimonium grande ferebant. Nam hoc de ipso dicebant, dignus qui 20  
 praesit in hoc loco, ubi sanctus Melchisedech aduenientem sanctum Abraam hostias Deo puras primus optulit. Cum ergo descendissemus, ut superius dixi, de ecclesia deorsum, ait nobis ipse sanctus presbyter: "Ecce ista fundamenta in giro colliculo isto, quae nidetis, hae sunt de palatio Melchisedech regis. Nam 25  
 inde adhuc sic si quis subito iuxta sibi uult facere domum et fundamenta inde continget, aliquotiens et de argento et heramento modica frustella ibi inuenit. Nam et certa uia, quam uidetis transire inter fluiuium Iordanem et uicum istum, haec est qua uia regressus est sanctus Abraam de cede quod Ollagomor regis gen- 30  
 tium reuertens in Sodomis, qua ei occurrit sanctus Melchisedech rex Salem."

XV. Tunc ergo quia retinebam scriptum esse baptizasse sanctum Iohannem in Enon iuxta Salim, requisivi de eo, quam longe esset ipse locus. Tunc ait ille sanctus presbyter: "Ecce hic est 35  
 in ducentis passibus. Nam si uis, ecce modo pedibus duco uos

ibi. Nam haec aqua tam grandis et tam pura, quam uidetis in isto uico, de ipso fonte uenit." Tunc ergo gratias ei agere coepi et rogare, ut duceret nos ad locum, sicut et factum est. Statim ergo cepimus ire cum eo pedibus totum per uallem amenissimam.  
5 donec perueniremus usque ad hortum pomarium ualde amenum, ubi ostendit nobis in medio fontem aquae optime satis et pure, quia semel integrum fluuium dimittebat: habebat autem ante se ipse fons quasi lacum, ubi parebat fuisse operatum sanctum Iohannem baptistam. Tunc dixit nobis ipse sanctus presbyter:  
10 "In hodie hic hortus aliter non appellatur | greco sermone nisi 46 copos tu agia Iohanni, id est quod uos dicitis latine hortus sancti Iohannis." Nam et multi fratres sancti monachi de diuersis locis uenientes tendunt se, ut lauentur in eo loco. Denno ergo et ad ipsum fontem, sicut et in singulis locis, facta est oratio et lecta  
15 est ipsa lectio: dictus etiam psalmus competens, et singula, quae consuetudinis nobis erant facere, ubicumque ad loca sancta ueniebamus, ita et ibi fecimus. Illud etiam presbyter sanctus dixit nobis eo quod usque in hodierna die semper cata pascha quicumque essent baptizandi in ipso uico, id est in ecclesia, quae  
20 appellatur opu Melchisedech, omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur: sic redirent mature ad candelas cum clericis et monachis dicendo psalmos uel antiphonas et sic a fonte usque ad ecclesiam sancti Melchisedech deducerentur mature omnes, qui fuissent baptizati. Nos ergo accipientes de presbytero eulogias, id est de pomario  
25 sancti Iohannis baptistae, similiter et de sanctis monachis, qui ibi monasteria habebant in ipso horto pomario, et gratias semper Deo agentes profecti sumus iter nostrum quo ibamus.

XVI. Ac sic ergo euntes aliquandiu per uallem Iordianis super ripam fluminis ipsius, quia ibi nobis iter erat aliquandiu,  
30 ad subito uidimus ciuitatem sancti prophetae Heliae, id est Thesbe, unde ille habuit nomen Helias Thesbites. Inibi est ergo usque in hodie spelunca, in qua sedit ipse sanctus, et ibi est memoria sancti Gethe, cuius nomen in libris Indicum legimus. Ac sic ergo et ibi gratias Deo agentes iuxta consuetudinem per  
35 exiimus iter nostrum. Item euntes in eo in eo itinere uidimus uallem de sinistro nobis uenientem amenissimam, quae uallis erat



ingens mittens torrentem in Iordanem infinitum. Et ibi in ipsa ualle uidimus monasterium cuiusdam fratris, nunc id est monachi. Tunc ego, ut sum satis curiosa, requirere cepi, quae esset haec uallis, ubi sanctus monachus nunc monasterium sibi fecisset: non enim putabam hoc sine causa esse. Tunc dixerunt nobis sancti, 5 qui nobiscum iter faciebant, id est loci notores: "Haec est uallis Corra, ubi sedit sanctus Helias Thesbites temporibus Achab regis, qua famis fuit, et iusso Dei corui escam portabat, et de eo torrentem aquam bibebat. Nam hic torrens, quem uides de ipsa ualle percurrentem in Iordanem, hic est Corra." Ac sic ergo 10 nichilominus Deo gratias agentes, qui nobis non merentibus singula, quae desiderabamus, dignabatur ostendere, itaque ergo ire cepimus iter nostrum sicut singulis diebus. Ac sic ergo facientes iter singulis diebus ad subito de latere sinistro, unde e contra partes Fenicis uidebamus, apparuit nobis mons ingens et altus 15 infinitum, qui tendebatur

*Deest unum folium*

47 qui sanctus monachus uir ascitis necesse habuit post tot annos, quibus sedebat in heremum, monere se et descendere ad ciuitatem Carneas, ut commoneret episcopum uel clericos temporis ipsius, 20 iuxta quod ei fuerat reuelatum, ut foderent in eo loco, qui ei fuerat ostensus, sicut et factum est. Qui fodientes in eo loco, qui ostensus fuerat, inuenerunt speluncam, quam sequentes fuerunt forsitan per passus centum. Quo et subito fodientibus illis adparuit lapis, quem lapidem cum perdiscoperuissent, inuenerunt 25 sculptum in coperculo ipsius Iob: qui Iob ad tunc in eo loco facta est ista ecclesia, quam uidetis, ita tamen ut lapis cum corpore non moneretur in alio loco, sed ibi, ubi inuentum fuerat corpus, positum esset, et ut corpus subter altarium iaceret. Illa autem ecclesia, quam tribunus nescio qui faciebat, sic fuit imperfecta usque in 30 hodie. Ac sic ergo nos alia die mane rogamus episcopum, ut faceret oblationem, sicut et faceret dignatus est; et benedicens nos episcopus profecti sumus. Communicantes ergo et ibi gratias agentes Deo semper regressi sumus in Ierosolimam,

iter facientes per singulas mansiones. per quas ieramus tres annos.

XVII. Item in nomine Dei. transacto aliquanto tempore, cum iam tres anni pleni essent, a quo in Ierusalimam uenisse; uisus  
5 etiam omnibus locis sanctis. ad quos orationis gratiam me tenderam; et ideo iam reuertendi ad patriam animus esset; uolui iubente Deo, ut et ad Mesopotamiam Syriae accedere ad uisendos sanctos monachos, qui ibi plurimi et tam eximiae uitae esse dicebantur, ut uix referri possit; nec non etiam et gratia orationis  
10 ad martyrium sancti Thomae apostoli. ubi corpus illius integrum positum est, id est apud Edessam, quem se illuc missurum postea quam in caelis ascendisset, Deus noster Iesus testatus est per epistolam, quam ad Aggarum regem per Ananiam cursorem misit, quoque epistolam cum grandi reuerentia apud Edessam ciuitatem, ubi est ipsud martyrium, custoditur. Nam michi credat  
15 uolo affectio uestra, quoniam nullus christianorum est qui non se tendat illuc gratia orationis. quicumque tamen usque ad loca sancta, id est in Ierusalimis accesserit. Et hic locus de Ierusalima uicesima et quinta mansione est. Et quoniam de Anthiocia  
20 propius est Mesopotamiam. fuit michi iubente Deo oportunum satis. ut quemadmodum reuertebar Constantinopolim. quia per Anthiociam iter erat. inde ad Mesopotamiam irem. sicut et factum est Deo iubente.

XVIII. Itaque ergo in nomine Christi Dei nostri profecta  
25 sum de Antiochia ad Mesopotamiam habens iter per mansiones seu ciuitates aliquot prouinciae Sirie Celen. quae est Anthiociae. et inde ingressa fines prouinciae Augustofratensis perueni ad ciuitatem Gerapolim. quae est metropolis ipsius prouinciae. id est Augustofratensis. Et quoniam haec ciuitas ualde pulchra et  
30 opulenta est atque abundans omnibus, necesse me fuit ibi facere statiuam. quoniam iam inde non longe erant fines Mesopotamiae. Itaque ergo proficiscens de Ierapolim in quintodecimo miliario in nomine Dei perueni ad fluium Eufraten. de quo satis bene scriptum est esse flumen magnum Eufraten et ingens et quasi  
35 terribilis est; ita enim decurrit habens impetum. sicut habet fluius Rodanus. nisi quod adhuc maior est Eufrates. Itaque ergo

quoniam necesse erat eum nauibus transire, et nauibus non nisi maioribus, ac sic immorata sum ibi forsitan plus media die; et inde in nomine Dei transito flumine Eufraten, ingressa sum fines Mesopotamiae Siriaë.

XIX. Ac sic denuo faciens iter per mansiones aliquot perueni 5  
ad ciuitatem, cuius nomen in scripturis positum legimus, id est Batanis, quae ciuitas usque in hodie est. Nam et ecclesia cum episcopo uere sancto et monacho et confessore habet et martyria aliquanta. Ipsa etiam ciuitas habundans multitudine hominum est; nam et miles ibi sedet cum tribuno suo. Unde denuo pro- 10  
ficiens, peruenimus in nomine Christi Dei nostri Edessam. Ubi cum peruenissemus, statim perreximus ad ecclesiam et ad martirium sancti Thomae. Itaque ergo iuxta consuetudinem factis orationibus et cetera, quae consuetudo erat fieri in locis sanctis, nec non etiam et aliquanta ipsius sancti Thomae ibi legi- 15  
mus. Ecclesia autem, ibi quae est, ingens et ualde pulchra et noua dispositione, ut uere digna est esse domus Dei: et quoniam multa erant, quae ibi desiderabam uidere, necesse me fuit ibi statim triduanam facere. Ac sic ergo uidi in eadem ciuitatem martyria plurima nec non et sanctos monachos, commanentes alios 20  
per martyria, alios longius de ciuitate in secretioribus locis habentes monasteria. Et quoniam sanctus episcopus ipsius ciuitatis, uir uere religiosus et monachus et confessor, suscipiens me libenter ait michi: "Quoniam uideo te, filia, gratia religionis tam magnum laborem tibi imposuisse, ut de extremis porro terris 25  
uenires ad haec loca, itaque ergo, | si libenter habes, quaecum-  
que loca sunt hic grata ad uidendum christianis, ostendimus tibi." Tunc ergo gratias agens Deo primum et sic ipsum rogaui plurimum, ut dignaretur facere quod dicebat. Itaque ergo duxit me primum ad palatium Aggari regis et ibi ostendit michi archi- 30  
otepam ipsius ingens simillimam, ut ipsi dicebant, marmoream, tanti nitoris ac si de margarita esset; in cuius Aggari uultu parebat de contra uere fuisse hunc uirum satis sapientem et honoratum. Tunc ait michi sanctus episcopus: "Ecce rex Aggarus, qui antequam uideret Deum, credidit ei, quia esset uere filius 35  
Dei." Nam erat et iuxta archiotipa similiter de tali marmore



facta, quam dixit filii ipsius esse Magni, similiter et ipsa habens aliquid gratiae in uultu. Item perintrauimus in interiori parte palatii; et ibi erant fontes piscibus pleni, quale ego adhuc nunquam uidi, id est tantae magnitudinis et uel tam perlustres aut  
5 tam boni saporis. Nam ipsa ciuitas aliam aquam penitus non habet nunc nisi eam, quae de palatio exit, quae est ac sic *fluuus* ingens argenteus. Et tunc retulit michi de ipsa aqua sic sanctus episcopus dicens: “Quodam tempore, postea quam scripserat Aggarus rex ad Dominum et Dominus rescripserat Aggaro per  
10 Ananiam cursorem, sicut scriptum est in ipsa epistola: transacto ergo aliquanto tempore superueniunt Persi et girant ciuitatem istam. Sed statim Aggarus epistolam Domini ferens ad portam cum omni exercitu suo publice orauit. Et post dixit: ‘Domine Iesu, tu promiseras nobis ne aliquis hostium ingrederetur ciuita-  
15 tem istam et ecce nunc Persae impugnant nos.’ Quod cum dixisset tenens manibus leuatis epistolam ipsam apertam rex, ad subito tantae tenebrae factae sunt foras ciuitatem, tamen ante oculos Persarum, cum iam prope plicarent ciuitati, ita ut usque tertium miliarium de ciuitate essent, sed ita mox tenebris turbati  
20 sunt, ut uix castra ponerent et pergirarent in miliario tertio totam ciuitatem. Ita autem turbati sunt Persae, ut nunquam uiderent postea, qua parte in ciuitate ingrederentur, sed custodirent ciuitatem per giro elusam hostibus in miliario tamen tertio, quam tamen custodierunt mensibus aliquod. Postmodum autem, cum  
25 uiderent se nullo modo posse ingredi in ciuitatem, uoluerunt siti eos occidere, qui in ciuitate erant. Nam monticulum istum, quem uides, filia, super ciuitate hac, in illo tempore ipse huic | ciuitati 50 aquam ministrabat. Tunc uidentes hoc Persae auerterunt ipsam aquam a ciuitate et fecerunt ei decursum contra ipso loco, ubi  
30 ipsi castra posita habebant. In ea ergo die et in ea hora, qua auerterant Persae aquam, statim hii fontes, quos uides in eo loco, iusso Dei a semel eruperunt: ex ea die hi fontes usque in hodie permanent hic gratia Dei. Illa autem aqua, quam Persae auerterant, ita siccata est in ea hora, ut nec ipsi haberent uel una die  
35 quod biberent, qui obsedebant ciuitatem, sicut tamen et usque in hodie apparet. Nam postea nunquam nec qualiscumque humor

ibi apparuit usque in hodie. Ac sic iubente Deo, qui hoc promiserat futurum, necesse fuit eos statim reuerti ad sua, id est in Persida. Nam et postmodum quotienscumque uoluerunt uenire et expugnare hanc ciuitatem hostes, haec epistola prolata est et lecta est in porta, et statim nutu Dei expulsi sunt omnes hostes.” 5  
 Illud etiam retulit sanctus episcopus eo quod hii fontes ubi erupe ierunt, ante sic fuerit campus intra ciuitatem subiacens palatio Aggari. Quod palatium Aggari, quasi in editiori loco positum erat, sicut et nunc paret, ut uides. Nam consuetudo talis erat in illo tempore, ut palatia quotiensque fabricabantur semper 10  
 in editioribus locis fierent. Sed postmodum quam hii fontes in eo loco eruperunt, tunc ipse Aggarus filio suo Magno, id est isti, cuius archiotipa uides iuxta parte posita, hoc palatium fecit in eo loco, ita tamen ut hii fontes intra palatium includerentur.

Postea ergo quam haec omnia retulit sanctus episcopus, ait ad 15  
 me: “Eamus nunc ad portam, per quam ingressus est Ananias cursor cum illa epistola quam dixeram.” Cum ergo uenissemus ad portam ipsam, stans episcopus fecit orationem et legit nobis ibi ipsas epistolas et denuo benedicens nos facta est iterato oratio. Illud etiam retulit nobis sanctus ipse dicens, eo quod ex ea die, 20  
 qua Ananias cursor per ipsam portam ingressus est cum epistolam Domini usque in praesentem diem, custodiatur, ne quis immundus, ne quis lugubris per ipsam portam transeat, sed nec corpus alicuius mortui eiciatur per ipsam portam. Ostendit etiam nobis sanctus episcopus memoriam Aggari uel totius familiae ipsius ualde pul- 25  
 chra, sed facta more antiquo. Duxit etiam nos et ad illum palatium superiorem, quod habuerat primitus rex Aggarus, et si qua praeterea loca erant, monstrauit nobis. Illud etiam satis michi grato fuit, ut epistolas ipsas siue Aggari ad Dominum siue Domini ad Aggarum, quas nobis ibi legerat sanctus episcopus, acciperem 30  
 michi ab ipso sancto. Et licet in patria exemplaria ipsarum 51  
 haberem, tamen gratius michi uisum est, ut et ibi eas de ipso acciperem, ne quid forsitan minus ad nos in patria peruenisset. Nam nere amplius est, quod hic accepi. Unde si Deus noster Iesus iusserit et uenero in patria, legi si uos, dominae animae 35  
 meae.

XX. Ac sic ergo facto ibi triduo. necesse me fuit adhuc in  
ante accedere usque ad Carris. quia modo sic dicitur. Nam in  
scripturis sanctis dicta est Carra, ubi mortuus est sanctus Abraam.  
sicut scriptum est in Genesi, dicente Domino ad Abraam: “Exi  
5 de terra tua et de domo patris tui et uade in Charram” et reliqua.  
Ergo cum uenissem, id est in Charra, ibi statim fui ad ecclesiam,  
quae est intra ciuitate ipsa, uidi etiam mox episcopum loci ipsius  
uere sanctum et hominem Dei et ipsum et monachum et confesso-  
rem; qui mox nobis omnia loca ibi ostendere dignatus est, quae  
10 desiderabamus. Nam duxit nos statim ad ecclesiam, quae est  
foras ciuitatem in eo loco, ubi fuit domus sancti Abrahae, id est  
in ipsis fundamentis et de ipso lapide, ut tamen dicebat sanctus  
episcopus. Cum ergo uenissemus in ipsa ecclesia, facta est oratio  
et lectus ipse locus de Genesi; dictus etiam unus psalmus, et  
15 iterata oratione et sic benedicens nos episcopus, egressi sumus  
foras. Item dignatus est nos ducere ad puteum illum, unde  
portabat aquam sancta Rebecca. Et ait nobis sanctus episcopus:  
“Ecce puteus unde portauit sancta Rebecca camelos pueri sancti  
Abrahae, id est Eleazari.” Et singula ita nobis dignabatur osten-  
20 dere. Nam ecclesia, quam dixi foras ciuitatem, dominae sorores  
uenerabiles, ubi fuit primitus domus Abrahae, nunc et martyrium  
ibi positum est, id est sancti cuiusdam monachi nomine Helpidi.  
Hoc autem nobis satis gratum euenit, ut pridie martyrium die ibi  
ueniremus, id est sancti ipsius Helpidii, nono k. maias: ad quam  
25 diem necesse fuit undique et de omnibus Mesopotamiae finibus  
omnes monachos in Charra descendere, etiam et illos maiores, qui  
in solitudine sedebant, quos ascites uocant, per diem ipsum, qui  
ibi satis grandiiter attenditur, et propter memoriam sancti Abra-  
hae, quia domus ipsius fuit, ubi nunc ecclesia est, in qua positum  
30 est corpus ipsius sancti martyris. Itaque ergo hoc nobis ultra  
spem grate satis euenit, ut sanctos et uere homines Dei monachos  
Mesopotamēnos ibi uideremus, etiam et eos, quorum fama uel uita  
longe audiebatur, quos tamen non aestimabam me penitus posse  
uidere. Non quia impossibile esset Deo etiam et hoc praestare  
35 michi, qui omnia praestare dignabatur, sed quia audieram eos, eo  
quod extra diem Paschae et extra diem hanc, non eos descendere

de locis suis, quoniam tales sunt ut et uirtutes faciant multas, et  
 52 quoniam nesciebam, quo mense | esset dies hic martyrii, quem  
 dixi. Itaque Deo iubente sic euenit, ut ad diem, quem nec spera-  
 bam, ibi uenirem. Fecimus ergo et ibi biduum propter diem  
 martyrii et propter uisionem sanctorum illorum, qui dignati sunt 5  
 ad salutandum libenti satis animo me suscipere et alloqui, in quo  
 ego non merebar. Nam et ipsi statim post martyrum diem nec  
 uisi sunt ibi, sed mox de nocte petierunt heremum et unus quis-  
 que eorum monasteria sua, qui ubi habebat. In ipsa autem ciui-  
 tatem extra paucos clericos et sanctos monachos, si qui tamen in 10  
 ciuitate commorantur, penitus nullum christianum inueni, sed  
 totum gentes sunt. Nam sicut nos cum grandi reuerentia attendi-  
 mus locum illum, ubi primitus domus sancti Abrahae fuit, pro  
 memoria illius; ita et illae gentes forte ad mille passus de ciuitate  
 cum grandi reuerentia adtendunt locum, ubi sunt memoriae Naor 15  
 et Bathuhelis. Et quoniam episcopus illius ciuitatis ualde instruc-  
 tus et de scripturis, requisitui ab eo dicens: "Rogo te, domine, ut  
 dicas michi quod desidero audire." Et ille ait: "Dic, filia, quod  
 uis, et dicam tibi, si scio." Tunc ego dixi: "Sanctum Abraam  
 cum patre Thara et Sarra uxore et Loth fratris filio scio per 20  
 scripturas in eo loco uenisse; Naor autem uel Bathuhelem non  
 legi, quando in isto loco transierint, nisi quod hoc solum scio,  
 quia postmodum puer Abraae, ut peteret Rebeccam filiam Bathu-  
 helis filii Nachor filio domini sui Abraae, id est Ysaac, in Charra  
 uenerit." Tunc ait michi sanctus episcopus: "Vere, filia-scriptum 25  
 est, sicut dicis, in Genesi sanctum Abraam hic transisse cum suis;  
 Nachor autem cum suis uel Bathuhelem non dicit scriptura canonis,  
 quo tempore transierint. Sed manifeste postmodum hic transie-  
 runt et ipsi; denique et memoriae illorum hic sunt forte ad mille  
 passus de ciuitate. Nam uere scriptura hoc testatur, quoniam ad 30  
 accipiendam sanctam Rebeccam huc uenerit puer sancti Abraae  
 et denuo sanctus Iacob hic uenerit, quando accepit filias Laban  
 Syri." Tunc ego requisitui ubi esset puteus ille, ubi sanctus  
 Iacob potasset pecora, quae pascebat Rachel filia Laban Siri; et  
 ait michi episcopus: "In sexto miliario est hinc locus ipse iuxta 35  
 uicum, qui fuit tunc uilla Laban Siri, sed cum uolueris ire, imus

tecum et ostendimus tibi. Nam et multi monachi ibi sunt ualde sancti et ascites et sancta ecclesia est ibi." Illud etiam requisiri a sancto episcopo, ubinam esset locus ille Chaldeorum, ubi habitauerant primo Thara cum suis. Tunc | ait michi ipse sanctus 53  
 5 episcopus: "Locus ille, filia, quem requiris, decima mansione est hinc intus in Persida. Nam hinc usque ad Nisibin mansiones sunt quinque et inde usque ad Hur, quae fuit ciuitas Chaldeorum aliae mansiones sunt quinque: sed modo ibi accessus Romanorum non est; totum enim illud Persae tenent. Haec autem pars  
 10 specialiter orientalis appellatur, quae est in confinium Romanorum et Persarum uel Chaldeorum." Et cetera plura referre dignatus est, sicut et ceteri sancti episcopi uel sancti monachi facere dignabantur; omnia tamen de scripturis Dei uel sanctis uiris gesta, id est monachis, siue qui iam recesserant, quae mirabilia  
 15 fecerint, siue etiam qui adhuc in corpore sunt, quae cotidie faciunt, hi tamen qui sunt ascites. Nam nolo estimet affectio uestra monachorum aliquando aliquando alias fabulas esse, nisi aut de scripturis Dei, aut gesta monachorum maiorum.

XXI. Post biduo autem quam ibi feceram, duxit nos episcopus ad puteum illum, ubi adaquauerat sanctus Iacob pecora sancte Rachel, qui puteus sexto miliario est a Charris. In cuius putei honorem fabricata est ibi iuxta sancta ecclesia ingens ualde et pulchra. Ad quem puteum cum uenissemus, facta est ab episcopo oratio: lectus etiam locus ipse de Genesi, dictus etiam  
 25 unus psalmus competens loco atque iterata oratione, benedixit nos episcopus. Vidimus etiam locum iuxta puteum iacente lapidem illum infinitum nimis, quem mouerat sanctus Iacob a puteo, qui usque hodie ostenditur. Ibi autem circa puteo nulli alii commanent nisi clerici de ipsa ecclesia, quae ibi est, et monachi habentes iuxta monasteria sua, quorum uitam sanctus episcopus nobis  
 30 retulit, sed uere inauditam. Ac sic ergo facta oratione in ecclesia, accessi cum episcopo ad sanctos monachos per monasteria ipsorum et Deo gratias agens et ipsis qui dignati sunt me per monasteria sua, ubicumque ingressa sum, libenti animo suscipere  
 35 et alloqui illis sermonibus, quos dignum erat de ore illorum procedere. Nam et eulogias dignati sunt dare michi et omnibus qui



mecum erant, sicut est consuetudo monachis dare, his tamen quos libenti animo suscipiunt in monasteriis suis. Et quoniam ipse locus in campo grandi est, de contra ostensus est michi a sancto episcopo uicus ingens satis forte ad quingentos passos de puteo, per quem uicum iter habuimus. Hic autem uicus, quantum episcopus dicebat, fuit quondam uilla Laban Siri, qui uicus appellatur Fadana. Nam ostensa est michi in ipso uico memoria  
 54 Laban Siri, | soceri Iacob. Ostensus est etiam michi locus, unde furata est Rachel idola patris sui. Ac sic ergo in nomine Dei peruasis omnibus, faciens uale sancto episcopo et sanctis monachis, qui nos usque ad illum locum deducere dignati fuerant, regressi sumus per iter uel mansiones quas ueneramus de Anthiokia. 10

XXII. Anthiokia autem cum fuisset regressa, feci postmodum septimana, quousque ea quae necessaria erant itineri pararentur: et sic proficiscens de Anthiokia faciens iter per mansiones aliquot, perueni ad prouinciam, quae Cilicia appellatur, quae habet ciuitatem metropolim Tharso, ubi quidem Tharso et eundo Ierusalimam iam fueram. Sed quoniam de Tharso tertia mansione, id est in Hisauria, est martyrium sanctae Teclae, gratum fuit satis, ut etiam illuc accedere, praesertim cum tam in proximo esset. 15 20

XXIII. Nam proficiscens de Tharso perueni ad quandam ciuitatem supra mare adhuc Ciliciae, quae appellatur Ponpeiopolim. Et inde iam ingressa fines Hisauriae, mansi in ciuitate quae appellatur Corico. Ac tertia die perueni ad ciuitatem quae appellatur Seleucia Hisauriae. Ubi cum peruenissem, fui ad episcopum uere sanctum ex monacho. Vidi etiam ibi ecclesiam ualde pulchram in eadem ciuitate. Et quoniam inde ad sanctam Teclam, qui locus est ultra ciuitatem in colle sed plano, habebat de ciuitate forsitam mille quingentos passus, malui ergo perexire illuc, ut statua, quam factura eram, ibi facerem. Ibi autem ad sanctam ecclesiam nichil aliud est nisi monasteria sine numero uirorum ac mulierum. Nam inueni ibi aliquam amicissimam michi, et cui omnes in oriente testimonium ferebant uitae ipsius, sancta diaconissa nomine Marthana, quam ego aput Ierusalimam 25 30 35

noueram. ubi illa gratia orationis ascenderat. Haec autem monasteria aputactitum seu uirginum regebat. Quae me cum uidisset. quod gaudium illius nel meum esse potuerit? Nunquid uel scribere possum? Sed ut redeam ad rem. monasteria ergo  
5 plurima sunt ibi per ipsum collem et in medio murus ingens. qui includet ecclesiam. in qua est martyrium. quod martyrium satis pulchrum est. Propterea autem murus missus est ad custodiendam ecclesiam propter Hisauros. quia satis mali sunt et frequenter latrunculantur. ne forte conentur aliquid facere circa  
10 monasterium. quod est ibi deputatum. Ibi ergo cum uenissem in nomine Dei. facta oratione ad martyrium nec non etiam et lecta omnia actus sanctae Teclae. gratias Christo Deo nostro egi infinitas. qui michi dignatus est indignae et non merenti in omnibus desideria complere. Ac sic ergo facto ibi biduo | uisis etiam 55  
15 sanctis monachis nel aputactites. tam uiris quam feminis. qui ibi erant. et facta oratione et communione reuersa sum Tharso ad iter meum. ubi facta statua triduana in nomine Dei profecta sum inde iter meum. Ac sic perueniens eadem die ad mansionem. quae appellatur Mansocrenas. qua est sub monte Tauro. ibi  
20 mansi. Et inde alia die subiens montem Taurum et faciens iter iam notum per singulas provincias. quas eundo transiueram. id est Cappadociam. Galatiam. et Bithiniam. perueni Calcedona. ubi propter famosissimum martyrium sanctae Eufimiae ab olim michi notum iam. quod ibi est. mansi loco. Ac sic ergo alia die transi-  
25 ens mare perueni Constantinopolim agens Christo Deo nostro gratias. quod michi indignae et non merenti praestare dignatus est tantam gratiam. id est ut non solum uoluntatem eundi. sed et facultatem perambulandi quae desiderabam. dignatus fuerat praestare. et reuertendi denuo Constantinopolim. Ubi cum uenissem.  
30 per singulas ecclesias uel apostolos nec non et per singula martyria. quae ibi plurima sunt. non cessabam Deo nostro Iesu gratias agere. qui ita super me misericordiam suam praestare dignatus fuerat. De quo loco. dominae lumen meum. cum haec ad uestram affectionem darem. iam propositi erat in nomine  
35 Christi Dei nostri ad Asiam accedendi. id est Efesum. propter martyrium sancti et beati apostoli Iohannis gratia orationis. Si

autem et post hoc in corpore fuero, si qua praeterea loca cognoscere potuero, aut ipsa praesens, si Deus fuerit praestare dignatus. uestrae affectioni referam; aut certe, si aliud animo sederit, scriptis nuntiabo. Vos tantum, dominae lumen meum, memores mei esse dignamini, siue in corpore, siue iam extra corpus fuero. 5

XXIV. Ut autem sciret affectio uestra, quae operatio singulis diebus cotidie in locis sanctis habeatur, certas uos facere debui, sciens quia libenter haberetis haec cognoscere. Nam singulis diebus ante pullorum cantum aperiuntur omnia hostia Anastasis 10 et descendant omnes monazontes et parthene, ut hic dicunt, et non solum hii, sed et laici praeterea uiri aut mulieres, qui tamen uolunt maturius uigilare. Et ex ea hora usque in luce dicuntur ymni et psalmi respondentur, similiter et antiphonae et cata singulos ymnos fit oratio. Nam presbyteri bini uel terni, similiter 15 et diacones, singulis diebus uices habent simul cum monazontes, qui cata singulos ymnos uel antiphonas orationes dicunt. Iam autem ubi ceperit lucescere, | tunc incipiunt matutinos ymnos dicere. Ecce et superuenit episcopus cum clero et statim ingreditur intro spelunca et de intro cancellos primum dicet orationem pro omnibus: commemorat etiam ipse nomina quorum 20 uult: sic benedicet cathecuminos. Item dicet orationem et benedicet fideles; et post hoc exeunte episcopo de intro cancellos omnes ad manum ei accedunt, et ille eos uno et uno benedicet exiens iam, ac sic fit missa iam luce. Item hora sexta denuo 25 descendant omnes similiter ad Anastasim et dicuntur psalmi et antiphonae donec commonetur episcopus: similiter descendet et non sedet, sed statim intrat intra cancellos intra Anastasim, id est intra speluncam, ubi et mature, et inde similiter primum facit orationem, sic benedicet fideles et sic exiens de cancellos similiter 30 ei ad manum acceditur. Ita ergo et hora nona fit sicuti et ad sexta. Hora autem decima, quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare, similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim: incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur, sed de spelunca 35 interiori eicitur, ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet, id est de



intro cancellos, dicuntur etiam psalmi lucernares. sed et antiphonae diutius. Ecce et commonetur episcopus et descendet et sedet susum nec non etiam et presbyteri sedent locis suis. dicuntur ymni uel antiphonae. Et ad ubi perducti fuerint iuxta consuetudinem. lebat se episcopus et stat ante cancellum. id est ante speluncam, et unus ex diaconibus facit commemorationem singulorum. sicut solet esse consuetudo. Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina semper pisinni plurimi stant respondentes semper: "kyrie eleyson;" quod dicimus nos: "miserere, Domine;" quorum uoces infinitae sunt. Et at ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia. quae dicere habet. dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus; et sic orant omnes, tam fideles. quam et cathecumini simul. Item mittet uocem diaconus. ut unusquisque. quomodo stat. cathecuminus inclinet caput; et sic dicet episcopus stans benedictionem super cathecuminos. Item fit oratio et denuo mittet diaconus uocem et commonet. ut unusquisque stans fidelium inclinent capita sua. Item benedicet fideles episcopus et sic fit missa Anastasi. Et incipient episcopo ad manum accedere singuli. Et postmodum de Anastasim usque ad Crucem ymnus dicitur. episcopus simul et omnis populus uadet. Ubi cum peruentum fuerit. primum facit orationem. | item benedicet cathecuminos: item fit alia oratio: item benedicat fideles. Et post hoc denuo tam episcopus quam omnis turba uadent denuo post Crucem et ibi denuo similiter fit sicuti et ante Crucem. Et similiter ad manum episcopus acceditur sicut ad Anastasim. Ita et ante Crucem: ita et post Crucem. Candelae autem uitreae ingentes ubique plurimae pendent et cereofala plurima sunt. tam ante Anastasim quam etiam ante Crucem. sed et post Crucem. Finiuntur ergo haec omnia cum crebris. Haec operatio cotidiae per dies sex ita habetur ad Crucem et ad Anastasim. Septima autem die. id est domenica die. ante pullorum cantum colliget se omnis multitudo. quaecumque esse potest in eo loco. Ac si per pascha in basilica. quae est loco iuxta Anastasim. foras tamen. ubi luminaria pro hoc ipsud pendent. Dum enim uerentur ne ad pullorum cantum non occurrant. antecessus ueniunt et ibi sedent: et dicuntur ymni nec non et antiphonae et fiunt orationes cata

singulos ymnos uel antiphonas. Nam et presbyteri et diacones semper parati sunt in eo loco ad uigilias propter multitudinem quae se colliget. Consuetudo enim talis est, ut ante pullorum cantum loca sancta non aperiuntur. Mox autem primus pullus cantauerit, statim descendet episcopus et intrat intro speluncam 5 ad Anastasim. Aperiuntur hostia omnia et intrat omnis multitudo ad Anastasim. Ubi iam luminaria infinita lucent et, quemadmodum ingressus fuerit populus, dicit psalmum quicumque de presbyteris et respondent omnes; post hoc fit oratio. Item dicit psalmum quicumque de diaconibus: similiter fit oratio: dicitur 10 et tertius psalmus a quocumque clerico: fit et tertio oratio et commemoratio omnium. Dictis ergo his tribus psalmis et factis orationibus tribus, ecce etiam thiamataria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis, ut tota basilica Anastasis repleatur odoribus. Et tunc ubi stat episcopus intro cancellos, prendet euangelium et 15 accedet ad hostium et leget resurrectionem domnus episcopus ipse. Quod cum ceperit legi, tantus rugitus et mugitus fit omnium hominum et tantae lacrimae, ut quamuis durissimus possit moueri in lacrimis Dominum pro nobis tanta sustinuisse. Lecto ergo euangelio exit episcopus et ducitur cum ymnis ad 20 Crucem et omnis populus cum illo. Ibi denuo dicitur unus psalmus et fit oratio. Item benedicit fideles et fit missa. Et exeunte episcopo omnes ad manum accedunt. Mox autem recipit se episcopus in domum suam: etiam ex illa hora reuertuntur omnes 25 monazontes ad Anastasim et psalmi | dicuntur et antiphonae usque ad lucem et cata singulos psalmos uel antiphonas fit oratio: uicibus enim quotidie presbyteri et diacones uigilant ad Anastasim cum populo. De laicis etiam, uiris aut mulieribus, si qui uolunt, usque ad lucem loco sunt: si qui nolunt, reuertuntur in domos suas et reponent se dormito. 30

XXV. Cum luce autem, quia dominica dies est, et proceditur in ecclesia maiore, quam fecit Constantinus (quae ecclesia in Golgotha est post Crucem) et fiunt omnia secundum consuetudinem, quae ubique fit die dominica. Sane quia hic consuetudo sic est, ut de omnibus presbyteris, qui sedent, quanti uolunt, praedi- 35 cent: et post illos omnes episcopus praedicat. Quae praedicationes

propterea semper dominicis diebus fiunt ut semper erudiatur  
 populus in scripturis et in Dei dilectione: quae praedicationes  
 dum dicuntur, grandis mora fit, ut fiat missa ecclesiae: et ideo  
 ante quartam horam aut forte quintam missa fit. At ubi autem  
 5 missa facta fuerit ecclesiae iuxta consuetudinem, qua et ubique  
 fit, tunc de ecclesia monazantes cum ymnis ducunt episcopum  
 usque ad Anastasin. Cum autem coeperit episcopus uenire cum  
 ymnis, aperiuntur omnia hostia de basilica Anastasis. Intrat  
 omnis populus, fidelis tamen, nam cathecumini non. Et at ubi  
 10 intrauerit populus, intrat episcopus et statim ingreditur intra  
 cancellos martyrii speluncae. Primum agnuntur gratiae Deo et  
 sic fit orationem pro omnibus: postmodum mittet uocem diaco-  
 nus, ut inclinet capita sua omnes quomodo stant. Et sic bene-  
 dicet eos episcopus stans intra cancellos interiores et postmodum  
 15 egreditur. Egredienti autem episcopo omnes ad manum acce-  
 dent. Ac sic est, ut prope usque ad quintam aut sextam horam  
 protrahitur missa. Item et ad lucernares similiter fit iuxta con-  
 suetudinem cotidianam. Haec ergo consuetudo singulis diebus  
 ita per totum annum custodiatur, exceptis diebus sollennibus.  
 20 quibus et ipsis quemadmodum fiat infra annotauimus. Hoc  
 autem inter omnia satis praecipuum est, quod faciunt, ut psalmi  
 uel antiphonae apti semper dicantur, tam qui nocte dicuntur, tam  
 qui contra mature, tam etiam qui per diem uel sexta aut nona uel  
 ad lucernare, semper ita apti et ita rationabiles, ut ad ipsam rem  
 25 pertineant quae agitur. Et cum toto anno semper dominica die  
 in ecclesia maiore procedatur, id est quae in Golgotha est, id est  
 post Crucem, quam fecit Constantinus: una tantum die dominica  
 id est quinquagesimarum per pentecosten in Syon proceditur, sicut  
 infra annotatum inuenietis: sic tamen in Syon ut antequam sit  
 30 hora tertia, illuc eatur, fiat primum missa in ecclesiam maiorem—

*Deest unum folium.*

“Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini” et cetera quae 59  
 secuntur. Et quoniam pro monazantes, qui pedibus uadent,  
 necesse est lenius iri: ac sic peruenitur in Ierusalem ea hora, qua

incipit homo hominem posse cognoscere, id est prope luce, ante tamen quam lux fiat. Ubi cum peruentum fuerit, statim sic in Astase ingreditur episcopus et omnes cum eo, ubi luminaria iam supra modo lucent. Dicitur ergo ibi unus psalmus: fit oratio: benedicuntur ab episcopo primum cathecumini, item fideles. 5 Recipit se episcopus et uadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum, ut se resumant. Monazontes autem usque ad lucem ibi sunt et ymnos dicunt. At ubi autem resumpserit se populus, hora incipiente secunda colligent se omnes in ecclesia maiore, quae est in Golgotha. Qui autem ornatus sit illa die ecclesiae uel Anastasis aut Crucis aut in Bethleem, superfluum fuit scribi. Ubi extra aurum 10 et gemmas aut sirico, nichil aliud uides. Nam et si uela uides, auroclaua oleserica sunt: si cortinas uides, similiter auroclauae olesericae sunt. Ministerium autem omne genus aureum gemmatum profertur illa die. Numerus autem uel ponderatio de ceriofalis uel cicindelidis aut lucernis uel diuerso ministerio nunquid uel extimari aut scribi potest? Nam quid dicam de ornatu fabricae ipsius, quam Constantinus sub praesentia matris suae in quantum uires regni sui habuit, honorauit auro, musiuo, et marmore pretioso, tam ecclesiam maiorem quam Anastasim uel ad 20 Crucem uel cetera loca sancta in Ierusalima? Sed ut redeamus ad rem, fit ergo prima die missa in ecclesia maiore, quae est in Golgotha. Et quoniam dum praedicant uel legent singulas lectiones uel dicunt ymnos, omnia tamen apta ipsi dici, et inde postmodum cum missa ecclesiae facta fuerit, hitur cum ymnis ad 25 Anastasim iuxta consuetudinem. Ac sic fit missa forsitan sexta hora. Ipsa autem die similiter et ad lucernare iuxta consuetudinem cotidianam fit. Alia denuo die similiter in ipsa ecclesia proceditur in Golgotha; hoc idem et tertia die: per triduo ergo homines laetitia in ecclesia, quam fecit Constantinus, celebratur 30 usque ad sextam. Quarta die in Eleona, id est in ecclesia, quae est in monte Olineti, pulchra satis, similiter omnia ita ornantur et ita celebrantur ibi. Quinta die in Lazariu, quod est ab Ierusalima forsitan ad mille quingentos passus: sexta die in Syon: septima die in Astase: octaua die ad Crucem. Ac sic ergo per 35 octo dies haec omnis laetitia et is hornatus celebratur in omnibus

locis sanctis, quos superius nominaui. In Bethleem autem per |  
totos octo dies cotidie is ornatus est et ipsa laetitia celebratur a 60  
presbyteris et ab omni clero ipsius loci et a monazones, qui in  
ipso loco deputati sunt. Nam et illa hora, qua omnes nocte in  
5 Ierusalima reuertuntur cum episcopo, tunc loci ipsius monachi,  
quicumque sunt, usque ad lucem in ecclesia in Bethleem peruigi-  
lant ymnos seu antiphonas dicentes, quia episcopum necesse est  
hos dies semper in Ierusalima tenere. Pro sollemnitate autem et  
laetitia ipsius diei infinite turbae se undique colligent in Ieruso-  
10 lima non solum monazones, sed et laici uiri aut mulieres.

XXVI. Sane quadragesimae de epiphania ualde cum summo  
honore hic celebrantur. Nam eadem die processio est in Astase  
et omnes procedunt et ordines aguntur, omnia cum summa laetitia  
ae si per pascha. Predicant etiam omnes presbyteri et sic episco-  
15 pus semper de eo loco tractantis euangelii, ubi quadragesima die  
tulerunt Dominum in templo Ioseph et Maria et uiderunt eum  
Symeon uel Anna prophetissa filia Fanuhel et de uerbis eorum,  
quae dixerunt uiso Domino, uel de oblatione ipsa, qua optulerunt  
parentes. Et postmodum celebratis omnibus per ordinem, quae  
20 consuetudines sunt, aguntur sacramenta et sic fit missa.

XXVII. Item dies paschales cum uenerint, celebrantur sic.  
Nam sicut apud nos quadragesimae ante pascha attenduntur, ita  
hic octo septimanas attenduntur ante pascha. Propterea autem  
octo septimane attenduntur, quia dominicis diebus et sabbato non  
25 ieiunantur excepta una die sabbati, qua uigiliae paschales sunt et  
necesse est ieiunari. Extra ipsum ergo diem penitus nunquam  
hic toto anno sabbato ieiunatur. Ac sic ergo de octo septimanis  
deductis octo diebus dominicis et septem sabbatis, quia necesse  
est una sabbati ieiunari, ut superius dixi, remanent dies quadra-  
30 ginta et unus qui ieiunantur, quod hic appellant eortae, id est  
quadragesimas. Singuli autem dies singularum ebdomadarum  
aguntur sic, id est ut die dominica de pullo primo legat episcopus  
intra Anastase locum resurrectionis Domini de euangelio, sicut et  
toto anno dominicis diebus fiet: similiter usque ad lucem aguntur  
35 ad Anastasem et ad Crucem, quae et toto anno dominicis diebus  
fiunt. Postmodum mane, sicut et semper dominica die, proceditur



et aguntur, quae dominicis diebus consuetudo est agi in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrio, quae est in Golgotha post Crucem; et similiter missa de ecclesia facta ad Anastase itur cum ymnis, sicut semper dominicis diebus fit. Haec ergo dum aguntur, facit se hora quinta; lucernare hoc idem hora sua fit sicut semper ad Anastasem et ad Crucem, sicut et singulis locis sanctis fit: dominica enim die nona fit. | Item secunda feria similiter de pullo primo Anastasem itur sicut et toto anno, et aguntur usque ad mane quae semper. Denuo ad tertia itur ad Anastasim et aguntur quae toto anno ad sextam solent agi, quoniam in diebus quadragesimarum et hoc additur, ut et ad tertiam eatur. Item ad sextam et nonam et lucernare ita aguntur, sicut consuetudo est per totum annum agi semper in ipsis locis sanctis; similiter et tertia feria similiter omnia aguntur sicut et secunda feria. Quarta feria autem similiter itur de noctu ad Anastase et aguntur ea, quae semper, usque ad mane; similiter et ad tertiam et ad sexta; ad nonam autem, quia consuetudo est semper, id est toto anno, quarta feria et sexta feria ad nona in Syon procedi, quoniam in istis locis, excepto si martiriorum dies euenerit, semper quarta et sexta feria etiam et a cathecuminis ieiunari et ideo ad nonam in Syon proceditur. Nam si fortuito in quadragesimis martyrorum dies euenerit quarta feria aut sexta feria atque ad nona in Syon proceditur. Diebus uero quadragesimarum, ut superius dixi, quarta feria ad nona in Sion proceditur iuxta consuetudinem totius anni et omnia aguntur, quae consuetudo est ad nonam agi praeter oblatio. Nam ut semper populus discat legem, et episcopus et presbyter praedicant assidue. Cum autem facta fuerit missa, inde cum ymnis populus deducet episcopum usque ad Anastasem; inde sic uenitur, ut cum intratur in Astase, iam et tota lucernari sic dicuntur ymni et antiphonae, fiunt orationes et fit missa lucernaris in Astase et ad Crucem. Missa autem lucernari in isdem diebus, id est quadragesimarum, serius fit semper quam per toto anno. Quinta feria autem similiter omnia aguntur, sicut secunda feria et tertia feria. Sexta feria autem similiter omnia aguntur, sicut quarta feria et similiter ad nonam in Syon itur, et similiter inde cum ymnis usque ad Anastase adducetur

episcopus. Sed sexta feria uigiliae in Astase celebrantur ab ea hora, qua de Sion uenitum fuerit cum ymnis usque in mane, id est de hora lucernari, quemadmodum intratum fuerit. In alia die mane, id est sabbato, fit autem oblatio in Astase maturius ita  
 5 ut fiat missa ante solem. Tota autem nocte uicibus dicuntur psalmi responsorii, uicibus antiphonae, uicibus lectiones diuersae, quae omnia usque in mane protrahuntur. Missa autem, quae fit sabbato ad Anastase, ante solem fit, hoc est oblatio, ut ea hora, qua incipit sol procedere, ad missam in Astase facta sit. Sic ergo  
 10 singulae septimanae celebrantur quadragesimarum. Quod autem dixi, maturius fit missa sabbato, | id est ante solem, propterea fit. 62 ut citius absoluant hi quos dicunt hic domadarios. Nam talis consuetudo est hic ieiuniorum in quadragesimis, ut hi quos appellant ebdomadarios, id est qui faciunt septimanas, dominica die, quia  
 15 hora quinta fit missa, ut manducent. Et quem ad modum prandiderint dominica die, iam non manducant nisi sabbato mane, mox communicauerint in Astase. Propter ipsos ergo, ut citius absoluant, ante sole fit missa in Astase sabbato. Quod autem dixi, propter illos fit missa mane, non quod illi soli communi-  
 20 cent, sed omnes communicant, qui uolunt eadem die in Astase communicare.

XXVIII. Ieiuniorum enim consuetudo hic talis est in quadragesimis, ut aliquem ad modum manducauerint dominica die post missa, id est hora quinta aut sexta, iam non manducent per tota  
 25 septimana, nisi sabbato ueniente post missa Anastasis, hi qui faciunt ebdomadas. Sabbato autem quod manducauerint mane, iam nec sera manducant, sed ad aliam diem, id est dominica, prandent post missa ecclesiae hora quinta uel plus et postea iam non manducent, nisi sabbato ueniente, sicut superius dixi. Con-  
 30 suetudo enim hic talis est, ut omnes qui sunt, ut hic dicunt, apud tactite, uiri uel feminae, non solum diebus quadragesimarum, sed et toto anno, qua manducant, semel in die manducant. Si qui autem sunt de ipsis apud tactites, qui non possunt facere integras septimanas ieiuniorum, sicut superius diximus, in totis quadragesi-  
 35 mis in medio quinta feria cenant. Qui autem nec hoc potest, biduanas facit per totas quadragesimas: qui autem nec ipsud, de



sera ad sera manducant. Nemo autem exigit quantum debeat facere, sed unus quisque ut potest id facit: nec ille laudatur, qui satis fecerit, nec ille vituperatur, qui minus. Talis est enim hic consuetudo. Esca autem eorum quadragesimarum diebus haec est, ut nec panem, quod liberari non potest, nec oleum gustent, 5 nec aliquid, quod de arboribus est: sed tantum aqua et sorbitione modica de farina quadragesimarum sic fit, ut diximus.

XXIX. Et completo earum septimanarum uigiliae in Astase sunt de hora lucernarii sexta feria, qua de Syon uenitur cum psalmis usque in mane sabbato, qua oblatio fit in Astase. Item 10 secunda septimana et tertia et quarta et quinta et sexta similiter fiunt, ut prima de quadragesimis. Septima autem septimana cum uenerit, id est quando iam due superant cum ipsa, ut pascha sit, singulis diebus omnia quidem sic aguntur sicut et ceteris septimanis quae transierunt; tantum modo quod uigiliae, quae in illis 15 sex septimanis in Astase factae sunt. Septima autem septimana, id est sexta feria, in Syon | fiunt uigiliae iuxta consuetudinem ea quae in Astase factae sunt per sex septimanas. Dicuntur autem toti singulis apti psalmi semper uel antiphonae tam loco quam diei. At ubi autem ceperit se mane facere sabbato illucescente, 20 offeret episcopus et facit oblationem mane sabbato, iam ut fiat missa. Mittit uocem archidiaconus et dicit: "Omnes hodie hora septima in Lazario parati simus." Ac sic ergo cum ceperit se hora septima facere, omnes ad Lazarium ueniunt. Lazarium autem, id est Bethania, est forsitan secundo miliario a ciuitate. 25 Euntibus autem de Ierusalima in Lazarium forsitan ad quingentos passus de eodem loco ecclesia est in strata in eo loco, in quo occurrit Domino Maria soror Lazari. Ibi ergo cum uenerit episcopus, occurrent illi omnes monachi et populus ibi ingreditur, dicitur unus ymnus et una antiphona et legitur ipse locus de 30 euangelio, ubi occurrit soror Lazari Domino; et sic facta oratione et benedictis omnibus, inde iam usque ad Lazarium cum ymnis itur. In Lazario autem cum uentum fuerit, ita se omnis multitudo colligit, ut non solum ipse locus sed et campi omnes in giro pleni sint hominibus. Dicuntur ymni etiam et antiphonae 35 apti ipsi diei et loco: similiter et lectiones apte diei quaecumque

leguntur. Iam autem, ut fiat missa, denuntiatur pascha, id est subit presbyter in altiori loco et leget illum locum, qui scriptus est in euangelio: "Cum uenisset Iesus in Bethania ante sex dies paschae" et cetera. Lecto ergo eo loco et annuntiata pascha fit  
 5 missa. Propterea autem ea die hoc agitur, quoniam sicut in euangelio scriptum est, ante sex dies paschae factum hoc fuisset in Bethania, de sabbato enim usque in quinta feria, qua post cena noctu comprehenditur Dominus, sex dies sunt. Reuertuntur ergo omnes ad ciuitatem rectus ad Anastase et fit lucernare iuxta con-  
 10 suetudinem.

XXX. Alia ergo die, id est dominica, quae intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior, celebratis de pullorum cantatis quae consuetudinis sunt in Anastase uel ad Crucem usque ad mane agitur. Die ergo dominica mane proceditur iuxta consuetudinem in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur  
 15 Martyrium. Propterea autem Martyrium appellatur, quia in Golgotha est, id est post Crucem, ubi Dominus passus est, et ideo Martyrio. Cum ergo celebrata fuerint omnia iuxta consuetudinem in ecclesia maiore, et antequam fiat missa, mittet uocem archidiaconus et dicit primum: "Iuxta septimana omne, id est  
 20 die crastino, hora nona omnes ad Martyrium conueniamus, id est in ecclesia maiore." Item mittet uocem alteram et dicet: "Hodie omnes hora septima in Eleona parati simus." Facta ergo missa in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, deducitur episcopus cum  
 25 ymnis ad Anastase et ibi completis, quae | consuetudo est diebus 64 dominicis fieri in Anastase, post missa Martyrii etiam unusquisque hiens ad domum suam festinat manducare, ut hora in quo ante septima omnes in ecclesia parati sint, quae est in Eleona, id est in monte Oliueti. Ibi est spelunca illa, in qua docebat  
 30 Dominus.

XXXI. Hora ergo septima omnis populus ascendet in monte Oliueti, id est in Eleona, in ecclesia sedet episcopus: dicuntur ymni et antiphonae apte diei ipsi uel loco: lectiones etiam similiter. Et cum ceperit se facere hora nona, subitur cum ymnis in  
 35 Inbomon, id est in eo loco, de quo ascendit Dominus in caelis, et ibi seditur. Nam omnis populus semper praesente episcopo iubetur

sedere. tantum quod diacones soli stant semper. Dicuntur et ibi ymni uel antiphonae aptae loco aut diei: similiter et lectiones interpositae et orationes. Etiam cum coeperit esse hora undecima, legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi infantes cum ramis uel palmis occurrerunt Domino dicentes: "Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini." Et statim leuat se episcopus et omnis populus, porro inde de summo monte Olineti totum pedibus itur. Nam totus populus ante ipsum cum ymnis uel antiphonis respondentes semper: "Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini." Et quotquot sunt infantes in hisdem locis, usque etiam quae pedibus ambulare non possunt, quia teneri sunt, in collo illos parentes sui tenent, omnes ramos tenentes alii palmarum, alii oliuarum: et sic deducetur episcopus in eo typo, quo tunc Dominus deductus est: et de summo monte usque ad ciuitatem et inde ad Anastase per totam ciuitatem totum pedibus omnes, sed et si quae matrone sunt, aut si qui domini: sic deducunt episcopum respondentes et sic lente et lente, ne lassetur populus. Porro iam sera peruenitur ad Anastase. Ubi cum uentum fuerit, quamlibet sero sit, tamen fit lucernare, fit denuo oratio ad Crucem et dimittitur populus.

XXXII. Item alia die, id est secunda feria, aguntur quae consuetudinis sunt de pullo primo agi usque ad mane ad Anastase, similiter et ad tertia et ad sexta aguntur ea, quae totis quadragessimis. Ad nona autem omnes in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, colligent se et ibi usque ad horam primam noctis semper ymni et antiphonae dicuntur: lectiones etiam aptae diei et loco leguntur: interpositae semper orationes lucernarum. Etiam agitur ibi, cum ceperit hora esse: sic est ergo, ut nocte etiam fiat missa ad Martyrium. Ubi cum factum fuerit missa, inde cum ymnis ad Anastase ducitur episcopus. In quo autem ingressus fuerit in Anastase, dicitur unus ymnus: fit oratio: benedicuntur cathecumini, item fideles, et fit missa.

65 XXXIII. Item tertia feria similiter omnia | fiunt sicut secunda feria: illud solum additur tertia feria, quod nocte sera, postea quam missa facta fuerit ad Martyrium et itum fuerit ad Anastase et denuo in Anastase missa facta fuerit, omnes illa hora noctu uadent in ecclesia, quae est in monte Eleona. In qua ecclesia 35

cum uentum fuerit. intrat episcopus intra spelunca, in qua spelunca solebat Dominus docere discipulos, et accipit codicem euangelii. Et stans ipse episcopus leget uerba Domini. quae scripta sunt in euangelio in cata Matheo. id est ubi dicitur : “Videte ne  
5 quis uos seducat.” Et omnem ipsam allocutionem perleget episcopus. At autem ubi illa perlegerit. fit oratio. benedicuntur cathecumini, item et fideles. fit missa et reuertuntur a monte unusquisque ad domum suam satis sera iam nocte.

XXXIV. Item quarta feria aguntur omnia per tota die a pullo  
10 primo sicut secunda feria et tertia feria. sed posteaquam missa facta fuerit nocte ad Martyrium et deductus fuerit episcopus cum ymnis ad Anastase. statim intrat episcopus in spelunca, quae est in Anastase. et stat intra cancellos : presbyter autem ante cancel-  
lum stat et accipit euangelium et legit illum locum. ubi Iudas  
15 Scariothes huius ad Iudeos. definiuit quid ei darent. ut traderet Dominum. Qui locus at ubi lectus fuerit. tantus rugitus et mugitus est totius populi. ut nullus sit. qui moueri non possit in lacrimis in ea hora : postmodum fit oratio : benedicuntur cathecumini, postmodum fideles et fit missa.

XXXV. Item quinta feria aguntur ea de pullo primo. quae consuetudinis est usque ad mane ad Anastase : similiter ad tertia et ad sexta. Octaua autem hora iuxta consuetudinem ad Martyrium colliget se omnis populus. propterea autem temporius quam ceteris diebus. quia citius missa fieri necesse est. Itaque  
25 ergo collecto omni populo aguntur. quae agenda sunt : fit ipsa die oblatio ad Martyrium et facitur missa hora forsitan decima. Ibidem antea autem quam fiat missa. mittet uocem archidiaconus et dicet : “Hora prima noctis omnes in ecclesia. quae est in Eleona. conueniamus. quoniam maximus labor nobis instat hodie nocte  
30 ista.” Facta ergo missa Martyri uenit post Crucem : dicitur ibi unus ymnus tantum : fit oratio et offeret episcopus ibi oblationem et communicant omnes. Excepta enim ipsa die una per totum annum nunquam offeritur post Crucem nisi ipsa die tantum. Facta ergo et ibi missa itur ad Anastase. fit oratio. bene-  
35 dicuntur iuxta consuetudinem cathecumini et sic fideles et fit missa : et sic unusquisque festinat reuerti in domum suam. ut

manducet, quia statim ut manducauerint, omnes uadent in Eleona in ecclesia ea, in qua est spelunca, in qua ipsa die Dominus cum apostolis fuit. Et ibi usque ad hora noctis forsitan quinta semper aut ymni aut antiphonae apte diei et loco, similiter et lectiones dicuntur; interpositae orationes fiunt; loca etiam ea de euangelio leguntur, in quibus Dominus allocutus est discipulos eadem die sedens in eadem spelunca, quae in ipsa ecclesia est. Et inde iam hora noctis forsitan sexta itur susu in Imbomon cum ymnis in eo loco, unde ascendit Dominus in caelis. | Et ibi denuo similiter lectiones et ymni et antiphonae aptae diei dicuntur: orationes etiam ipsae quaecumque fiunt, quas dicet episcopus, semper et diei et loco aptas dicet.

XXXVI. Ac sic ergo cum ceperit esse pullorum cantus, descenditur de Imbomon cum ymnis et accedit eodem loco, ubi orauit Dominus, sicut scriptum est in euangelio: "Et accessit quantum iactum lapidis et orauit" et cetera. In eo enim loco ecclesia est elegans; ingreditur ibi episcopus et omnis populus: dicitur ibi oratio apta loco et diei: dicitur etiam unus ymnus aptus et legitur ipse locus de euangelio, ubi dixit discipulis suis: "Vigilate ne intretis in temptationem." Et omnis ipse locus perlegitur ibi et fit denuo oratio. Etiam inde cum ymnis usque ad minimus infans in Gessamani pedibus cum episcopo descendit, ubi prae tam magna turba multitudinis et fatigati de uigiis et ieiuniis cotidianis lassi, quia tam magnum montem necesse habent descendere, lente et lente cum ymnis uenitur in Gessamani. Candelae autem ecclesiasticae super ducente paratae sunt propter lumen omni populo. Cum ergo peruentum fuerit in Gessamani, fit primum oratio apta: sic dicitur ymnus: item legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi comprehensus est Dominus. Qui locus ad quod lectus fuerit, tantus rugitus et mugitus totius populi est cum fletu, ut forsitan porro ad ciuitatem gemitus populi omnis auditus sit. Etiam ex illa hora hitur ad ciuitatem pedibus cum ymnis, peruenitur ad portam ea hora, qua incipit quasi homo hominem cognoscere; inde totum per mediam ciuitatem omnes usque ad unum, maiores atque minores, diuites, pauperes, toti ibi parati specialiter illa die nullus recedit a uigiis usque in mane.



Sic deducitur episcopus a Gessemani usque ad portam et inde per totam ciuitate usque ad Crucem. Ante Crucem autem at ubi uentum fuerit, iam lux quasi clara incipit esse. Ibi denuo legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi adducitur Dominus ad Pilatum, et  
 5 omnia quaecumque scripta sunt Pilatum ad Dominum dixisse aut ad Indeos totum legitur. Postmodum autem alloquitur episcopus populum confortans eos, quoniam et tota nocte laborauerint et adhuc laboraturi sint ipsa die, ut non lassentur sed habeant spem in Deo, qui eis pro eo labore maiorem mercedem redditurus  
 10 sit. Et sic confortantes eos, ut potest ipse, alloquens dicit eis: "Ite interim nunc unus quisque ad domuncellas uestras, sedete uobis et modico et ad horam prope secundam diei omnes parati estote hic, ut de ea hora usque ad sextam sanctum lignum crucis possitis uidere ad salutem sibi unus quisque nostrum credens  
 15 profuturum. De hora enim sexta denuo necesse habemus hic omnes conuenire in isto loco, id est ante Crucem, ut lectionibus et orationibus usque ad noctem operam demus."

XXXVII. Post hoc ergo missa | facta de Cruce, id est ante 67  
 quam sol procedat, statim unus quisque animosi uadent in Syon  
 20 orare ad columnam illam, ad quem flagellatus est Dominus. Inde reuersi sedent modice in domibus suis et statim toti parati sunt et sic ponitur cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post Crucem, quae stat nunc: residet episcopus in cathedra; ponitur ante eum mensa sublinteata; stant in giro mensa diacones et affertur locus  
 25 argenteus deauratus, in quo est lignum sanctum crucis, aperitur et proferitur, ponitur in mensa tam lignum crucis quam titulus. Cum ergo positum fuerit in mensa, episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet: diacones autem qui in giro stant custodent. Hoc autem propterea sic custoditur, quia  
 30 consuetudo est, ut unus et unus omnis populus ueniens, tam fideles quam cathecumini, acclinant se ad mensam, osculentur sanctum lignum et pertranseant. Et quoniam nescio quando dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasset sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus, qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne qui ueniens audeat  
 35 denuo sic facere. Ac sic ergo omnis populus transit unus et unus toti acclinantes se primum de fronte, sic de oculis tangentes

crucem et titulum et sic osculantes crucem pertranseant : manum  
 autem nemo mittit ad tangendum. At ubi autem osculati fuerint  
 crucem, pertransierint, stat diaconus, tenet anulum Salomonis et  
 cornu illud, de quo reges unguebantur, osculantur et cornu atten-  
 dent et anulum minus secunda usque ad horam sextam omnis 5  
 populus transit, per unum ostium intrans, per alterum per alterum  
 perexiens, quoniam hoc in eo loco fit, in quo pridie, id est quinta  
 feria, oblatio facta est. At ubi autem sexta hora se fecerit, sic  
 itur ante Crucem, siue pluuia siue estus sit, quia ipse locus sub-  
 dinanus est, id est quasi atrium ualde grandem et pulchrum satis, 10  
 quod est inter Cruce et Anastase. Ibi ergo omnis populus se  
 colliget, ita ut nec aperiri possit. Episcopo autem cathedra  
 ponitur ante Cruce et de sexta usque ad nona aliud nichil fit,  
 nisi leguntur lectiones sic, id est ita legitur primum de psalmis,  
 ubicumque de passione dixit : legitur et de apostolo siue de 15  
 epistulis apostolorum uel de actionibus, ubicumque de passione  
 Domini dixerunt : nec non et de euangelis leguntur loca, ubi  
 patitur : item legitur de prophetis, ubi passurum Dominum dix-  
 erunt ; item legitur de euangelis, ubi passionem dicit. Ac sic  
 ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam semper sic leguntur lectio- 20  
 nes aut dicuntur ymni, ut ostendatur omni populo, quia quicquid  
 dixerunt prophetae futurum de passione Domini, ostendatur tam  
 per euangelia quam etiam per apostolorum scripturas factum esse.  
 Et sic per illas tres horas docetur populus omnis nichil factum  
 esse, quod non prius dictum sit, et nichil dictum esset, quod non 25  
 totum completum sit. | Semper autem interponuntur orationes :  
 quae orationes et ipsae apte diei sunt. Ad singulas autem lectio-  
 nes et orationes tantus affectus et gemitus totius populi est, ut  
 mirum sit. Nam nullus est neque maior neque minor, qui non  
 illa die illis tribus horis tantum ploret, quantum nec extimari 30  
 potest, Dominum pro nobis ea passum fuisse. Post hoc cum  
 coeperit se iam hora nona facere, legitur iam ille locus de euan-  
 gelio cata Iohannem, ubi reddidit spiritum. Quo lecto iam fit  
 oratio et missa. Ac ubi autem missa facta fuerit de ante Cruce,  
 statim omnes in ecclesia maiore ad Martyrium aguntur ea, quae 35  
 per ipsa septimana de hora nona, qua ad Martyrium conuenitur.



consueuerunt agi usque ad sero per ipsa septimana. Missa autem facta de Martyrium uenitur ad Anastase. Et ibi cum uentum fuerit, legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi petit corpus Domini Ioseph a Pilato, ponet illud in sepulero nouo. Hoc autem lecto, 5 fit oratio; benedicuntur cathecumini; sic fit missa. Ipsa autem die non mittitur uox, ut peruigiletur ad Anastase, quoniam scit populum fatigatum esse; sed consuetudo est, ut peruigiletur ibi. Ac sic qui uult de populo, immo qui possunt, uigilant; qui autem non possunt, non uigilant ibi usque in mane. Clerici autem uigilant ibi, id est qui aut fortiores sunt aut iuueniores; et tota nocte dicuntur ibi ymni et antiphonae usque ad mane. Maxima autem turba peruigilant, alii de sera, alii de media nocte, qui ut possunt.

XXXVIII. Sabbato autem alia die iuxta consuetudinem fit ad 15 tertia: item fit ad sexta: ad nonam autem iam non fit sabbato, sed parantur uigiliae paschales in ecclesia maiore, id est in Martyrium. Vigiliae autem paschales sic fiunt, quem ad modum ad nos: hoc solum hic amplius fit, quod infantes, cum baptidiati fuerint et uestiti, quemadmodum exient de fonte, simul cum episcopo 20 primum ad Anastase ducuntur. Intrat episcopus intro cancellos Anastasis, dicitur unus ymnus, et sic facit orationem episcopus pro eis et sic uenit ad ecclesiam maiorem cum eis. Ubi iuxta consuetudinem omnis populus uigilat; aguntur ibi, quae consuetudinis est etiam et apud nos, et facta oblatione fit missa. Et post, 25 facta missa uigiliarum in ecclesia maiore statim cum ymnis uenitur ad Anastase: et ibi denuo legitur ille locus euangelii resurrectionis. Fit oratio et denuo ibi offeret episcopus; sed totum ad momentum fit propter populum, ne diutius tardetur; et sic iam dimittetur populus. Ea autem hora fit missa uigiliarum ipsa 30 die, qua hora et apud nos.

XXXIX. Sero autem illi dies paschales sic attenduntur, quemadmodum et ad nos et ordine suo fiunt missae per octo dies paschales, sicut et ubique fit per pascha usque ad octauas. Hic autem ipse ornatus est et ipsa compositio et per octo dies paschae, 35 quae et per epiphania, tam in ecclesia maiore quam ad Anastase aut ad Crucem uel in Eleona, sed et in Bethleem nec non etiam 69

in Lazariu uel ubique, quia dies paschales sunt. Proceditur autem ipsa die dominica prima in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, et secunda feria et tertia feria, ubi ita tamen, ut semper missa facta de Martyrio ad Anastase ueniat cum ymnis. Quarta feria autem in Eleona proceditur; quinta feria ad Anastase; sexta 5  
 feria in Syon: sabbato ante Cruce: dominica autem die, id est octauis, denuo in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium. Ipsis autem octo diebus paschalibus cotidie post prandium episcopus cum omni clero et omnibus infantibus, id est qui baptidiat fuerint, et omnibus qui aputactitae sunt, uiri ac feminae, nec non 10  
 etiam et de plebe quanti uolunt, in Eleona ascendent. Dicuntur ymni, fiunt orationes tam in ecclesia, quae in Eleona est, in qua est spelunca, in qua docebat Iesus discipulos, tam etiam in Imbomon, id est in eo loco, de quo Dominus ascendit in caelis. Et posteaquam dicti fuerint psalmi et oratio facta fuerit, inde usque 15  
 ad Anastase cum ymnis descenditur hora lucernae: hoc per totos octo dies fit. Sane dominica die per pascha post missa lucernarii, id est de Anastase, omnis populus episcopum cum ymnis in Syon ducet. Ubi cum uentum fuerit, dicuntur ymni apti diei et loco, fit oratio et legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi eadem die Domi- 20  
 nus in eodem loco, ubi ipsa ecclesia nunc in Syon est, clausis ostiis ingressus est discipulis, id est quando tunc unus ex discipulis ubi non erat, id est Thomas, qua reuersus est et dicentibus ei aliis apostolis, quia Dominum uidissent, ille dixit: "Non credo, nisi uidero." Hoc lecto, fit denuo oratio, benedicuntur cathecumini, 25  
 item fideles, et reuertuntur unusquisque ad domum suam sera hora forsitan noctis secunda.

XL. Item octauis paschae, id est die dominica, statim post sexta omnis populus cum episcopo ad Eleona ascendit; primum in ecclesia, quae ibi est, aliquandiu sedetur: dicuntur ymni; 30  
 dicuntur antiphonae aptae diei et loco; fiunt orationes similiter aptae diei et loco. Denuo inde cum ymnis itur in Imbomon susu, similiter et ibi ea aguntur, quae et illic. Et cum ceperit hora esse, iam omnis populus et omnes aputactite deducunt episcopum cum ymnis usque ad Anastase. Ea autem hora peruenitur ad 35  
 Anastase, qua lucernarium fieri solet. Fit ergo lucernarium tam

ad Anastase quam ad Crucem. Et inde omnis populus usque ad unum cum ymnis ducunt episcopum usque ad Syon. Ubi cum uentum fuerit. similiter dicuntur ymni apti loco et diei: legitur denuo et ille locus de euangelio, ubi octauis paschae ingressus  
 5 est Dominus, ubi erant discipuli, et arguet Thomam, quare incredulus fuisset. Et tunc omnis ipsa lectio perlegitur; postmodum fit oratio; benedictis cathecuminis quam fidelibus, iuxta consuetudinem reuertuntur unusquisque ad domum suam similiter ut die dominica paschae hora noctis secunda.

10 XLI. A pascha autem usque ad quinquagesima, id est pentecosten, hic penitus nemo ieiunat, nec ipsi aputactitae qui sunt. Nam semper ipsos dies, sicut toto anno, ita ad Anastase de pullo primo usque ad mane consuetudinaria aguntur: | similiter et ad  
 70 sexta et ad lucernare. Dominicis autem diebus semper in Martyrio, id est in ecclesia maiore, proceditur iuxta consuetudinem et inde  
 15 itur ad Anastase cum ymnis. Quarta feria autem et sexta feria, quoniam ipsis diebus penitus nemo ieiunat, in Syon proceditur sed mane: fit missa ordine suo.

XLII. Die eadem quadragesimarum post pascha, id est quinta  
 20 feria, pridie omnes post sexta, id est quarta feria, in Bethleem uadunt propter uigilias celebrandas. Fiunt autem uigiliae in ecclesia in Bethleem, in qua ecclesia spelunca est, ubi natus est Dominus. Alia die autem, id est quinta feria quadragesimarum, celebratur missa ordine suo, ita ut et presbyteri et episcopus  
 25 praedicent dicentes apte diei et loco: et postmodum sera reuertuntur unusquisque in Ierusalima.

XLIII. Quinquagesimarum autem die, id est dominica, qua die maximus labor est populo, aguntur omnia sic de pullo quidem primo iuxta consuetudinem: uigilatur in Anastase, ut legat episcopus locum illum euangelii, qui semper dominica die legitur,  
 30 id est resurrectionem Domini: et postmodum sic ea aguntur in Anastase, quae consuetudinaria sunt, sicut toto anno. Cum autem mane factum fuerit, procedit omnis populus in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium. Aguntur etiam omnia, quae consuetudinaria  
 35 sunt agi: praedicant presbyteri, postmodum episcopus. Aguntur omnia legitima, id est offertur iuxta consuetudinem, qua dominica

die consuevit fieri: sed eadem adceleratur missa in Martyrium,  
 ut ante hora tertia fiat. Quemadmodum enim missa facta fuerit  
 ad Martyrium, omnis populus usque ad unum cum ymnis ducent  
 episcopum in Syon: sed hora tertia plena in Syon sint. Ubi  
 cum uentum fuerit, legitur ille locus de actus Apostolorum, ubi 5  
 descendit spiritus, ut omnes linguae intellegerent quae dicebantur.  
 Postmodum fit ordine suo missa. Nam presbyteri de hoc ipsud,  
 quod lectum est, quia ipse est locus in Syon, alia modo ecclesia  
 est, ubi quondam post passionem Domini collecta erat multitudo  
 cum apostolis, qua hoc factum est, ut superius diximus, legi ibi 10  
 de actibus apostolorum. Postmodum fit ordine suo missa, offer-  
 tur et ibi, etiam ut dimittatur populus, mittit uocem archidiacono-  
 nus et dicet: "Hodie statim post sexta omnes in Eleona parati  
 simus Inbomon." Reuertitur ergo omnis populus unus quisque 15  
 in domum suam resumere se et statim post prandium ascenditur  
 mons Oliueti, id est in Eleona, unus quisque quomodo potest,  
 ita ut nullus Christianus remaneat in ciuitate, quoniam omnes  
 uadent. Quem ad modum ergo subito fuerit in monte Oliueti, id  
 est in Eleona, primum itur in Inbomon, id est in eo loco, unde 20  
 ascendit Dominus in caelis, et ibi sedet episcopus et presbyteri,  
 sedet omnis populus, leguntur ibi lectiones, dicuntur interposite  
 ymni, dicuntur et antiphonae aptae diei ipsi et loco; orationes  
 71 etiam, quae interponuntur, | semper tales pronuntiationes habent,  
 ut et diei et loco conueniunt. Legitur etiam et ille locus de  
 euangelio, ubi dicit de ascensu Domini: legitur et denuo de actus 25  
 apostolorum, ubi dicit de ascensu Domini in celis post resurrec-  
 tionem. Cum autem hoc factum fuerit, benedicuntur cathecu-  
 mini, sic fideles, et hora iam nona descenditur inde et cum ymnis  
 itur ad illam ecclesiam, qua et ipsa in Eleona est, id est in qua spe-  
 lunca sedens docebat Dominus apostolos. Ibi autem cum 30  
 tum fuerit, iam est hora plus decima: fit ibi lucernare; fit oratio;  
 benedicuntur cathecumini et sic fideles etiam. Inde descenditur  
 cum ymnis, omnis populus usque ad unum toti cum episcopo  
 ymnos dicentes uel antiphonas aptas diei ipsi. Sic uenitur lente  
 et lente usque ad Martyrium. Cum autem peruenitur ad portam 35  
 ciuitatis, iam nox est et occurrent candelae ecclesiasticae uel

ducente propter populo. De porta autem, quoniam satis est usque ad ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, porro hora noctis forsitan secunda peruenitur, quia lente et lente itur totum pro populo, ne fatigentur pedibus. Et apertis baluis maioribus, quae  
 5 sunt de quintana parte, omnis populus intrat in Martyrium cum ymnis et episcopo. Ingressi autem in ecclesia dicuntur ymni, fit oratio, benedicuntur cathecumini et sic fideles. Et inde denuo cum ymnis itur ad Anastase. Similiter ad Anastase cum uentum fuerit, dicuntur ymni seu antiphone, fit oratio, benedicuntur  
 10 cathecumini, sic fideles: similiter fiet ad Crucem. Et denuo inde omnis populus christianus usque ad unum cum ymnis ducunt episcopum usque ad Syon. Ubi cum uentum fuerit, leguntur lectiones aptae, dicuntur psalmi uel antiphone, fit oratio, benedicuntur cathecumini et sic fideles, et fit missa. Missa autem  
 15 facta accedunt omnes ad manum episcopi et sic reuertuntur unusquisque ad domum suam hora noctis forsitan media. Ac sic ergo maximus labor in ea die suffertur, quoniam de pullo primo uigilatum est ad Anastase et inde per tota die nunquam cessatum est: et sic omnia quae celebrantur protrahuntur, ut nocte media  
 20 post missa, quae facta fuerit in Sion, omnes ad domos suas reuertantur.

XLIV. Iam autem de alia die quinquagesimarum omnes ieiunant iuxta consuetudinem sicut toto anno, qui prout potest, excepta die sabbati et dominica, qua nunquam ieiunatur in hisdem locis.  
 25 Etiam postmodum ceteris diebus ita singula aguntur ut toto anno, id est semper de pullo primo ad Anastase uigiletur. Nam si dominica dies est, primum leget de pullo primo episcopus euangelium iuxta consuetudinem intro Anastase locum resurrectionis Domini, qui semper dominica die legitur, et postmodum ymni seu  
 30 antiphone usque ad lucem dicuntur in Anastase. Si autem dominica dies non est, tantum quod ymni uel antiphone similiter de pullo primo usque ad lucem dicuntur in Anastase. Aputactitae omnes uadent: de plebe autem qui quomodo possunt uadent: clerici autem | cotidie uicibus: uadent clerici autem de pullo  
 35 primo; episcopus autem albescente uadet semper, ut missa fiat matutina, cum omnibus clericis excepta dominica die, quia necesse



est illum de pullo primo ire, ut euangelium legat in Anastase. Denuo ad horam sextam aguntur, quae consuetudinaria sunt in Anastase; similiter et ad nona; similiter et ad lucernare iuxta consuetudinem, quam consuevit toto anno fieri. Quarta autem et sexta feria semper nona in Syon fit iuxta consuetudinem.

XLV. Et illud etiam scribere debui, quemadmodum docentur hi qui baptidianur per pascha. Nam qui dat nomen suum, ante diem quadragesimarum dat et omnium nomina annotat presbyter, hoc est ante illas octo septimanas quibus dixi hic attendi quadragesima. Cum autem annotauerit omnium nomina presbyter, postmodum alia die de quadragesimis, id est qua inchoantur octo ebdomadadae, ponitur episcopo cathedra media ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium. Sedent hinc et inde presbyteri in cathedris et stant clerici omnes et sic adducuntur unus et unus competens: si uiri sunt, cum patribus suis ueniunt: si autem feminae, cum matribus suis. Et sic singulariter interrogat episcopus uicinos eius, qui intrauit, dicens: "Si bonae uitae est hic, si parentibus deferet, si ebriacus non est aut uanus" et singula uitia, quae sunt tamen grauiora in homine, requiret. Ut si probauerit sine reprehensione esse de his omnibus, quibus requisitum praesentibus testibus, annotat ipse manu sua nomen illius. Si autem in aliquo accusatur, iubet illum foras exire dicens: emendet se et cum emendauerit se, tunc accedet ad lauacrum. Sic de uiris, sic de mulieribus requirens dicit. Si quis autem peregrinus est, nisi testimonia habuerit, qui eum nouerint, non tam facile accedet ad baptismum.

XLVI. Hoc autem, domine sorores, ne extimaretis sine ratione fieri, scribere debui. Consuetuetudo est enim hic talis, ut qui accedunt ad baptismum per ipsos dies quadraginta, quibus ieiunatur, primum mature a clericis exorcizentur, mox missa facta fuerit de Anastase matutina. Et statim ponitur cathedra episcopo ad Martyrium in ecclesia maiore et sedent omnes in giro prope episcopo, qui baptidiandi sunt, tam uiri quam mulieres, stant loco etiam patres uel matres, nec non etiam qui uolunt audire de plebe omnes intrant et sedent, sed fideles. Cathecumini autem ibi non intrat, tunc qua episcopus docet illos legem, id est sic, inchoans

a Genese per illos dies quadraginta percurrent omnes scripturas, primum exponens carnaliter et sic illud soluens spiritualiter. Nec non etiam et de resurrectione similiter et de fide omnia docentur per illos dies. Hoc autem cathecisis appellatur. Etiam quando  
5 completae fuerint septimanae quinque, a quo docentur, tunc accipient symbolum: cuius simboli rationem similiter sicut omnium scripturarum ratione exponet eis singulorum sermonum, primum carnaliter et sic spiritualiter, ita et symbolum exponet. Ac sic  
est ut in hisdem locis omnes fideles sequantur scripturas, quando  
10 leguntur in ecclesia, quia omnes docentur per illos dies quadraginta, id est ab hora prima usque ad horam tertiam, quoniam per tres horas fit cathecismus. Deus autem scit, dominae sorores, quoniam maiores uoces sunt fidelium, qui ad audiendum intrant in cathecisen ad ea, quae dicuntur uel exponuntur per episcopum.  
15 quam quando sedet et praedicat in ecclesia ad singula, quae taliter exponuntur. Missa autem facta cathecisis hora iam tertia statim inde cum ymnis ducitur episcopus ad Anastase et fit missa ad tertia. Ac sic tribus horis docentur ad die per septimanas septem. Octaua enim septimana quadragesimarum, id est quae  
20 appellatur septimana maior, iam non uacat eos doceri, ut impleantur ea, quae superius sunt. Cum autem iam transierint septem septimanae, superat illa una septimana paschalis, quam hic appellant septimana maior. Iam tunc uenit episcopus mane in ecclesia maiore ad Martyrium retro in absida post altarium, ponitur cathedra episcopo, et ibi unus et unus uadet, uiri cum patre suo aut  
25 mulier cum matre sua, et reddet symbolum episcopo. Reddit autem simbolo episcopo, alloquitur omnes episcopus et dicet. "Per istas septem septimanas legem omnem edocti estis scripturarum, nec non etiam de fide audistis; audistis etiam et de resur-  
30 rectione carnis, sed et singuli omnem rationem, ut potuistis, tamen adhuc cathecumini, audire: uerbum autem quae sunt misterii altioris, id est ipsius baptismi, qui adhuc cathecumini audire non potestis. Et ne extimetis aliquid sine ratione fieri, cum in nomine Dei baptidiati fueritis, per octo dies paschales post missa facta de  
35 ecclesia in Anastase audietis: qui adhuc cathecumini estis, misteria Dei secretiora dici uobis non possunt."



XLVII. Post autem uenerint dies paschae, per illos octo dies, id est a pascha usque ad octauas, quemadmodum missa facta fuerit de ecclesia, et itur cum ymnis ad Anastase, mox fit oratio, benedicuntur fideles, et stat episcopus incumbens in cancello interiore, qui est in spelunca Anastasis, et exponet omnia quae aguntur in baptismo. Illa enim hora cathecuminus nullus accedet ad Anastase, tantum neofiti et fideles, qui uolunt audire misteria, in Anastase intrant. Clauduntur autem ostia, ne qui cathecuminus se dirigat. Disputante autem episcopo singula et narrante, tante uoces sunt collaudantium, ut porro foras ecclesia audiantur uoces eorum. Vere enim ita misteria omnia absoluent, ut nullus non possit commoneri ad ea, quae audit sic exponi. Et quoniam in ea pronuncia pars populi et greci et siriste nouit, pars etiam alia per se grece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste nouerit, tamen semper grece loquitur et nunquam siriste. Itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui episcopo grece dicente siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant [ut omnes audiant] quae exponuntur. Lectiones etiam quaecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est grece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores greci latini, qui latine exponunt eis. Illud autem hic ante omnia ualde *gratum* fit et ualde admirabile, ut semper tam ymni quam antiphonae et lectiones nec non etiam et orationes, quas dicet episcopus, tales pronuntiationes habeant, ut et diei, qui celebratur, et loco, in quo agitur, aptae et conuenientes sint semper.

XLVIII. Item dies enceniarum appellantur, quando sancta ecclesia, quae in Golgotha est, quam Martyrium uocant, consecrata est Deo: sed et sancta ecclesia, quae est ad Anastase, id est in eo loco, ubi Dominus resurrexit post passionem, ea die et ipsa consecrata est Deo. Harum ergo ecclesiarum sanctarum encenia cum summo honore celebrantur: quoniam crux Domini inuenta est ipsa die. Et ideo propter hoc ita ordinatum est, ut quando primum sanctae ecclesiae suprascriptae consecrabantur, ea dies esset, qua crux Domini fuerat inuenta, ut simul omni laetitia

eadem die celebrarentur. Et hoc per scripturas sanctas inuenitur, quod ea dies sit enceniarum, qua et sanctus Salomon, consummata domo Dei, quam edificauerat, steterit ante altarium Dei et orauerit, sicut scriptum est in libris Paralipomenon.

- 5 XLIX. Hi ergo dies enceniarum cum uenerint, octo diebus attenduntur. Nam ante plurimos dies incipiunt se undique colligere, ubi non solum monachorum uel actito de diuersis prouinciis, id est tam de Mesopotamia uel Syria uel de Egypto aut Thebaida, ubi plurimi monazantes sunt, sed et de diuersis omni-
- 10 bus locis uel prouinciis; nullus est enim, qui non se eadem die in Ierusalima tendat ad tantam laetitia et tam honorabiles dies: seculares autem tam uiri quam feminae fidei animo propter diem sanctum similiter sed et omnibus prouinciis isdem diebus Ierusalima colligunt. Episcopi autem, quando parui fuerint, hisdem
- 15 diebus Ierusalima plus quadraginta aut quinquaginta sunt. Et cum illis ueniunt multi clerici sui. Et quid plura? Putat se maximum peccatum incurrisse, qui in hisdem diebus tante sollemnitati inter non fuerit: si tamen nulla necessitas contraria fuerit, que hominem a bono proposito retinet. His ergo diebus enceniarum ipse ornatus omnium ecclesiarum est, qui et per pascha uel per epiphania: et ita per singulos dies diuersis locis sanctis proceditur ut per pascha uel epiphania. Nam prima et secunda die in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrium, proceditur. Item tertia die in Eleona, id est in ecclesia, quae est in ipso
- 20 monte, a quo ascendit Dominus in caelis post passionem: intra qua ecclesia est spelunca illa, in qua docebat Dominus apostolos in monte Oliueti.



## APPARATUS CRITICUS.<sup>1</sup>

A = librarius qui Codicem Arretinum exaravit. A<sup>1</sup> = idem librarius, quae scripserat corrigens. Ar = lector recentior. A? = manus incerta. Gey. = Geyer. Ga. = Gamurrini (in editione altera). P = Pomialowsky.

5. 2 sex] se Ga. Gey.
- 3 planissima] planissimam Gey.
- 7 commonuerunt] commonuerant Ga.
- 9 mons] moñs A.
- 13 estimare] aestimare Gey.
- 25 unde] <quia> unde Gey.
- 26 illuc] illinc Gey.
6. 1 erat. Inde] erat inde: Gey.
- 14 sunt] sint Gey.
- 24 potest] potes Gey.
- 29 quedam] quaedam P. Gey.
- 31 aecclesia] ecclesia P. Gey. presbytero] p̄tro A. *Hic et ubique*  
presbitero P. presbytero Ga. Gey. "presbitero A *eadem*  
*orthographia semper*" Gey. in *app. crit.*
- 33 cepimus] coepimus Gey. ascendere *ex* ascendere *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.
7. 2 que] que A. quē A<sup>1</sup>. quae P. qui Ga. Gey.
- 5 me] ame *sed litt. a eras.* A?
- 10 loco] locō 'A.
- 13 aecclesia] ecclesia P. Gey.
- 16 ecclesie] ecclesiae P. Ga. Gey.
- 20 etate aut inbeccillitate] etate aut inbecillitate P. imbecillitate aut  
aetate Ga. inbecillitate aut aetate Gey.
- 22 enim] ĕnī A. ecclesia et *ex* ecclesiae *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.
- 23 omnia] omni Gey.
- 25 aecclesia] ecclesia P. Ga. Gey.
- 28 montium] monti ≡ A<sup>1</sup>.
- 30 nerrola] terrola Gey.
- 36 cepi] coepi Gey.
8. 7 qui de eo] qui ≡ de ≡ eo A. quod de eo Ga. quia de eo Gey.
- 10 tamen] tam Ga.
- 13 illut] illud P. Gey.
- 14 ita] ita ≡ A.

<sup>1</sup> Ubi de codice siletur, intelligendum est lectionem quae in apparatu in initio versu stet in codice stare. Similiter de editoribus siletur, ubi codicis lectionem receperunt.

- 8, 18 cepimus] coepimus Gey.  
 19 ei perimetus] ei *omīs*. Ga.  
 25 que] quae Ga. Gey.  
 29 maxime ea desideraueram] maxime ea desideraueramus P.  
 maxime\* ea desideraueram *et in app. crit. emendat* uel maxime  
 consuetudinis erat semper. ut ubicumque ad ea loca quae  
 desideraueram, uenissemus, semper *c. q. s.* Gey. desiderii  
 fuerat *in app. crit.* Ga.  
 35 Israhel] Israel *et ubique* Ga.  
 9, 3 hac] hac *sed litt. h interlen.* A<sup>1</sup> ac Gey.  
 5 coepit] cepit P.  
 7 quia] qua P. Ga. Gey.  
 9 quaecumque] quaecumque Gey.  
 10 aut] ad P. Ga. Gey.  
 11 montis] monti P. Ga. Gey.  
 14 niuet] uiret Ga.  
 16 Hic autem] hic autem *est* Ga. hic est autem Gey.  
 27 locum] loco Gey.  
 33 ergo] ego *sed litt. r suprascrips.* A que ad modum]. quemad-  
 modum Gey.  
 10. 5 ceperunt] coeperunt Gey.  
 10 que] quae P. Gey.  
 13 Iehu] iñu A. Iesu P. Ga. Gey. quem] quam Ga. Gey.  
 14 quemadmodum] que<sup>s</sup> amodum *sed primam litt. m inter-*  
*len.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 15 habitationes A. abitationes A<sup>1</sup>.  
 18 filios *ex filiis corr.* A<sup>1</sup>. Moyses] Moysos Gey.  
 19 ad montem] a monte Gey. post ostenderunt uerbum torrente<sup>s</sup>  
*interlen.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 20 eis] iis P. portauit] potauit P. Ga. Gey.  
 26 incensa *ex incem corr.* A<sup>1</sup>. quedam] quaedam P. Gey.  
 29 quaecumque] que  $\equiv$  umq: A. quaecumque P. Gey.  
 30 in ea] ea in Gey.  
 33 retinere] retineri Gey.  
 11. 1 Israhel] filii Israhel Gey.  
 3 immorati] immorati Ga.  
 5 confixus mos esset] confix; mos ess. A confixit Moyses Ga.  
 confixum a Moyse est Gey.  
 8 tamen] autem Ga.  
 12 pro] ꝥ A per P. etate] aetate Gey.  
 26 ipsis *ex ipsius corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 29 Faram] Faran P. Ga. Gey.

12. 2 cedat] caedat Gey. ducentis] ducentos Ga. Gey.  
 5 Faranite] Faranitae P. Gey.  
 8 cameli *ex* calmeli *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 10 aliqui] aliquis Ga.  
 13 ad montem] a monte Gey.  
 14 *uerba* reuersi sunt per iter quod ierant id est usque ad eum  
 locum *in infima pagina scripsit* A.  
 21 uenissemus] uenissemus <denuo> Gey.  
 23 terra] terram Gey. nosse] nossem Gey.  
 26 qui ibi] quod ibi P. Ga. Gey.  
 27 desiderii] desiderii Ga.  
 13. 3 michi] mihi P.  
 11 romana *ex* romanorum *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 12 Iobelsefon *ex* iobelsehon *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>. Iobelsefon P. Iobelsephon  
 Ga. locus Belsefon ostensum] ostensus Gey.  
 20 edificauerunt] aedificauerunt Gey.  
 23 Heroum] heroum A. *litt. r supra o scripsit* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 25 comes] come Ga. Gey.  
 31 gratus] grandis P. quedam] quaedam P. Gey.  
 33 que] quae P. Ga. Gey.  
 14. 3 quae] quae *sed punctum interleu.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 6 collapsae] collaps A.  
 7 nichil] nihil P.  
 8 exclusae] excisae Gey.  
 13 in quo moditas] commoditas P. Ga. incommoditas Gey.  
 16 greee] graece Gey.  
 17 dendrosa lethiae] \*dendrosa lethiae *et in marg.* \*δενδρος ἀληθίας.  
 A. dendros alethiae P. Ga. Gey.  
 18 ramessen *fortasse ex* oamessen *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 21 fuisset] fuisse Ga.  
 22 illa statua] illas statuas Gey.  
 30 pridie] pridie a *sed litt. a interleu.* A<sup>1</sup>. pridie a P. Ga. Gey.  
 31 agende] agenda P. Gey.  
 33 michi] in A mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 15. 2 quandiu] quamdiu P. Ga. Gey.  
 3 iam autem] Iter autem Ga. quo ei iam] *dubium utrum iam an*  
 locum, *sed fortasse iam* A. quoniam Gey.  
 4 transiebatur] transiebat Gey.  
 9 primos] primo Ga. pulcherrimos Gey.  
 12 nusquam] nunquam Ga.  
 17 nosse] nossem P. Ga. Gey.  
 25 aliquod] aliquot Gey.

16. 7 qui] quae Ga. Gey.  
 8 fixerant *ex* fixesant *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 20 homo de filio] homo Dei filios Ga. Gey.  
 23 quedam] quaedam P. Gey.  
 28 uolebamus] ualebamus Gey.  
 30 oratio ibi *cum signis transpositionis* A<sup>1</sup>. ibi oratio Ga. Gey.  
 32 ceptum] coeptum Gey. cepimus] coepimus Gey.  
 34 Libiadae] libiade A. Libiade P. Ga. Gey. quae] quem Ga. Gey.
17. 3 de uia] deiuia A. deuia A<sup>1</sup>.  
 15 soporis] saporis P. Ga. Gey.  
 27 modice] modicum Gey.
18. 1 non ostenditur] [non] ostenditur Gey.  
 2 ubi] ubi <positus sit> Gey.  
 6 cepimus] coepimus Gey.  
 10 possunt] possit A. possitis P. Ga.  
 16 circa] citra Gey. que] quae P. Gey.  
 23 nichil] nihil P.  
 24 conuerse] conuersae P. Gey.  
 26 michi] mī A. mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 27 domine] dominae P. Gey.  
 29 locum *cum*] cum *sed litt.* lo *suprascripts.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 33 ipse locus] ipse locus *est* Ga. Gey.  
 35 ostense] ostensae Gey.
19. 1 quae] quex A que A<sup>1</sup>.  
 2 Sasdra] *dubium utrum* safdra *an* sasdra A.  
 8 Sane illa] Sane <de> illa Gey.  
 10 Agrisecula] Agri specula Ga. Agrispecula Gey.  
 16 uolui ad] *supra uerbum* ad *litt.* ege A<sup>1</sup>. uolui etiam ad P. Gey.  
 20 eisdem] eis P.  
 21 michi] mihi P.  
 27 Ausitidi] au ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ sitidi A.  
 28 hiens] iens P.  
 29 Iordanis fluminis *cum signis transpositionis* A<sup>1</sup>. fluminis  
 Iordanis Ga. amenam] amoenam Gey. habundantem]  
 abundantem P.  
 30 multe] multae P. Gey.  
 32 Sedima] *dubium utrum* sedima *an* seduna A.  
 34 grandis] grandes Ga. Gey.
20. 2 amenus] amoenus Gey. michi] mihi P.  
 3 Melchis et haec] Melchisedech Gey.  
 7 greco] graeco Gey. opumelchis. Et haec] \*opu Melchisedech  
 Gey.



20. 20 ferebant] ferebat *sed super litt. a litt. n scripsit* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 25 Melchisedech regis *cum signis transpositionis* A<sup>1</sup>. regis Melchisedech Ga. Gey.  
 27 continget] contiget Ga. Gey. heramento] aeramento Gey.  
 28 et certa] ecce ista Gey.  
 30 cede] caede Gey. quod Ollagomor] Quodollagomor P. Chodollagomor Ga. Codollagomor Gey.  
 33 baptizasse] babtizasse P.  
 35 ille] iste P.
21. 2 coepi] cepi P.  
 4 cepimus] coepimus Gey. amenissimam] amoenissimam Gey.  
 5 amenum] amoenum Gey.  
 6 optime] optimae P. Gey. pure] purae P. Gey.  
 7 qui a semel] quia semel P. Ga.  
 10 greco] graeco Gey.  
 11 copos] cepos Gey.  
 20 opu] opus Gey.  
 33 Gethe] Gethae P. Ga. Gey.  
 36 amenissimam] amoenissimam Gey.
22. 3 Tunc ego] tunc ġ ego A. tunc ego A<sup>1</sup>. coepi] coepi Gey.  
 8 corui] coruus ei Gey. portabat] portabant P. de eo torrentem] de torrente *sed uerbum eo supra de scripsit* A. de eo torrente P. Ga. Gey.  
 11 nichilominus] nihilominus P.  
 13 cepimus] coepimus Gey.  
 16 tendebatur] tendebatur in longo P. Ga. Gey. *in infima pagina in longo quae uerba in summa pagina sequenti scriberentur indicans* A.  
 24 et] ad Gey.  
 26 qui] cui Ga. Gey.  
 28 positum] positus Gey.  
 30 fuit] *dubium utrum* fuit *an* stat A stat P. Ga.  
 32 faceret] facere P. Ga. Gey.
23. 4 uenisse] uenissem P. Gey.  
 5 gratiam] gratia P. Ga. Gey.  
 7 ut et] et Ga. etiam et Gey.  
 14 quoque epistolam] quaeque epistola Ga. Gey.  
 15 et michi] m̄ A. mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 19 quinta mansione] quinta ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ mansione A. Anthioeia] Antiochia P. Gey.  
 20 Mesopotamiam] Mesopotamia Ga.  
 22 Anthiociam] Antiochiam P. Gey.

23. 26 Anthiocia] Antiochia P. Gey.  
 25 per mansiones] seu mansiones A. seu *deleu. et per superscripts.* A<sup>1</sup>.
24. 9 habundans] abundans P.  
 16 que] quae P. Gey.  
 19 ciuitatem] ciuitate Gey.  
 23 et monachus]  $\overline{\tau}$  monachus A.  
 24. 30 michi] mihi P.  
 28 ipsum] ipsi Gey.  
 34 michi] mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 35 Deum] Dominum Gey.
25. 1 dixit] dixi P.  
 3 quale] quales Gey.  
 4 et uel] et *deleu.* A<sup>2</sup> uel Gey.  
 6 ac sic *sed alteram litt. c interlen.* A<sup>1</sup>. ac si P. Ga. Gey.  
 7 michi] mihi P.  
 11 Persi] Persae P. Gey.  
 21 Ita autem] Ita tam̃ aũ A. Ita aũ A<sup>1</sup>.  
 24 aliquod] aquod *sed litt. li superscripts.* A<sup>1</sup>. aliquot Gey.  
 31 hii] hi P.  
 32 a semel] a semet Ga.  
 35 obsedebant] obsidebant Ga.
26. 6. 11. 14. 31 hii] hi P.  
 7 e rupe ierunt] eruperunt Gey.  
 13 parte] patre Gey.  
 19 benedicens] bendicens P. iterato] iterata Ga.  
 21 epistolam] epistola Ga.  
 28 illud *ex illu<sup>s</sup> corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 28. 32 michi] m̃ A. mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 33 nos] uos P.  
 35 legi si uos] legetis et uos Ga. Gey.
27. 2 Carris A. *supra litt. a litt. h Ar.* Charris P. Ga. Gey.  
 3 Carra A. *supra litt. a litt. h Ar.* Charra P. Ga. Gey.  
 6 Ergo] <Ibi> ergo Gey.  
 13 in ipsa] *post haec uerba septem aut octo litt. eras.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 15 benedicens] bendicens P.  
 18 portauit] potauit *ex portauit corr.* A<sup>2</sup> potauit P. Ga. Gey.  
 28 grandiiter] granditer P. Ga. Gey.  
 33 aestimabam] estimabam P. existimabam Ga.  
 35 michi] mihi P.
28. 7 martyrum] martyrii Gey.  
 9 qui] quae Ga. ciuitatem] ciuitate P. Ga. Gey.

- 28, 14 illae] ille *ex illi corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 17 et] est Ga. Gey.  
 18, 25 michi] mihi P.  
 24 Nachor] Nahor P. Ga. Gey. filio] filio suo A filio A<sup>1</sup>.  
 34, 36 Siri] Syri P. Gey.  
 35 michi] in A. mihi P. Gey. iuxta] *ante hoc uerbum litt.*  
*o deleu.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 29, 3, 7, 11 Chaldeorum] Chaldaeorum Gey.  
 4 michi] mihi P.  
 7 ad Hur] adur A. *supra litt.* u *litt.* h *scrips.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 9 autem pars] pars *omis.* Gey.  
 16 estimet] aestimet Gey.  
 21 sancte] sanctae P. Ga. Gey.  
 26 locum] loco Gey. iacente] iacentem Ga. Gey. lapipem] lapidem  
 P. Ga. Gey.  
 28 commanent] commanet Ga.  
 31 aecclesia] ecclesia P. Ga. Gey.  
 36 Nam et] et *omis.* P. michi] mihi P.  
 30, 3, 7, 8, 35 michi] mihi P.  
 6, 8 Siri] Syri P. Gey.  
 13, 14, 16 Anthiocia] Antiochia P. Gey.  
 18 tharso] tharso *ex thrarso corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 21 accedere] accederem Gey.  
 24 que] quae P. Gey. Pompeiopolin] Pompeiopolin Ga. Pon-  
 peiopolin Gey.  
 31 forsitam] forsitan P. Gey.  
 32 statiuam] statiuam P. Gey. ibi] *ante hoc uerbum litt.*  
*(fortasse f) deleu.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 33 nichil] nihil P.  
 36 aput] apud Ga.  
 31, 8 Hisauros] hisauros *ex hisati corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 10 est ibi *cum signis transpositionis* A<sup>1</sup>. ibi est Gey.  
 11, 12 lecta omnia *litt.* a *in utroque uerbo interleu.* A<sup>1</sup>. lectus  
 omnis P. Ga. Gey.  
 13 michi] in A. mihi P. Ga. Gey.  
 15 aputactites] aputactitis Gey.  
 19 qua] quae P.  
 20 alia *ex alie corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 23, 26 michi] mihi P.  
 26 praestare] p̄rare A.  
 30 et per] et *omis.* P.  
 33 dominae] doñe A. domnae P. Gey.

32. 1 corpo] corpore Gey.  
 11 parthene] parthenae Gey.  
 12 hii] hi P. [praeterea] pt A. praeter Gey.  
 13 luce] lucem P. Ga. Gey.  
 18 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 25 denuo *ex* denua *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 27 descendet *ex* descenderet *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 30 de] de <intro> Gey.
33. 4 ad] at Gey. ad (finem) Ga. perducti] perdicti Gey.  
 5 lebat] leuat Gey.  
 16 mittet] mittit P. Gey.  
 17 inclinent *ex* inclinet *corr.* A<sup>2</sup>.  
 19 Anastasin] Anastasi P. Ga. ymnus] <cum> ymnis Gey.  
 20 dicitur] dicit<sup>s</sup> A. ducit<sup>s</sup> A<sup>2</sup> ducitur Gey.  
 23 uadent] uadet Ga. Gey.  
 25 episcopus] episcopi P. Ga. episcopo Gey.  
 29 crebris] tenebris Ga. Gey. cotidiae] cotidie P. Ga. Gey.  
 31 domenica] dominica P. Ga. Gey.  
 32 quecumque] quaecumque P. Ga. Gey.  
 34 pro] ꝥ A. per Ga.
34. 13 thiamataria] thymiataria Gey. spelunca] speluncam Gey.  
 15 ubi] ibi Gey.  
 16 domnus] Domini P. Gey.  
 17 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 22 exeunte] exeunti Gey.  
 24 etiam] et iam Gey.  
 26 singulos *ex* singulas *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 27 Anastasin] anasi<sup>s</sup> *sed litt. sta suprascripts.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 28 aut] ac P.  
 33 fiunt] sunt P. Ga.  
 34 que] quae P. qua Gey.  
 35 omnibus] omib; A.
35. 1 fiunt] sunt Ga. Gey.  
 4 missa fit] missa (non) fit Ga.  
 7 coeperit] ceperit Ga.  
 11 martyrii] [martyrii] Gey. speluncae] spelunc<sup>a</sup> A.  
 12 orationem] oratio P. Gey.  
 13 inclinet] inclinent P. Gey.  
 14 intra] intro Ga.  
 17 lucernares] lucernare Gey.  
 19 custodiatur] custoditur Gey. sollennibus] sollemnibus Ga.  
 20 annotauimus] annotabimus Gey.

35. 29 sit] fit P.  
 30 ecclesiam] ecclesia P. Gey.  
 32 pro] ꝥ A per Ga.  
 33 leuius] lenius Gey.
36. 3 Astase] *hic et ubique* anastase P. Ga. Gey.  
 6 ospitium] hospitium Ga. Gey.  
 12 nichil] nihil P.  
 13 auroclauē] auroclauae P. Gey. | oleserica] oloserica Ga. Gey.  
 14 olesericae] ole serice *sed supra ultimam litt. e scrips. A<sup>1</sup>.* oloseri-  
 cae Ga. Gey. | genus] geꝥ A omis. P.  
 17 extimari] existimari Ga. aestimari Gey.  
 19 honorauit] hornauit Gey.  
 20 pretioso] praetioso P.  
 25 hitur] itur P.  
 30 homines] haec omnis Ga. Gey.
37. 9 infinite] infinitae P. Ga. Gey.  
 13 ordines] ordine P. Ga. ordine suo Gey.  
 15 tractantis] tractantes Ga. Gey.  
 17 Fanuhel] Famuhel P. Samuhel Ga. uerbis] ūerbis A.  
 18 qua] quam Gey.  
 20 consuetudines] consuetudinis Ga. Gey.  
 23 septimanas] septimanae P. Ga. Gey. attenduntur] adtenduntur  
 Gey.  
 24 septimane] septimanae P. Ga. Gey.  
 34 fiet] fit et Gey. | aguntur] agantur Ga.  
 35 Anastasem] Anastasim P.
38. 3 Anastase] Anastasi Ga.  
 6 Anastasem] Anastase P.  
 8 Anastasem] Anastasim P.  
 9 que] quae P. Ga. Gey.  
 15 de noctu] denaotu *sed supra litt. ao litt. oc scrips. A<sup>1</sup>.*  
 17 sexta] sextam P. Gey.  
 18 nona] nonam Gey.  
 19 martiriorum] martyriorum P. martyrorum Gey.  
 20 ieunari] ieunatur Gey.  
 22 atque] neque Gey.  
 24 Sion] Syon P. Ga.  
 29 Anastasem] Anastasim P.  
 30 tota] hora Gey. | lucernari] lucernaris Ga. sic] sic sic, *sed*  
*primum uerbum interleu. A<sup>2</sup> fit: sic Ga. sit; sic Gey.* | ymni]  
 ymni A.  
 31 lucernari] lucernaris Ga. lucernarii Gey.

39. 2 Sion] Syon P. uenitum] uentum P. Ga. Gey.  
 3 lucernari] lucernarii Gey.  
 9 ad missam] iam missa Ga. et missa Gey.  
 12 domadarios] ebdomadarios Gey.  
 23 aliquem ad modum] aliquē ad modū A. *in primo uerbo supra litt. i litt. i scrips. A.*<sup>1</sup> alii quem admodum P. Ga. Gey.  
 24 sexta] VI<sup>a</sup> A.  
 29 manducent] manducant Gey.  
 30 aputactite] aputactitae Gey.  
 33 aputactites] aputactitis Gey.
40. 1 ad sera] ad seram P. Ga. Gey.  
 5 quod] quid P. liberari] librari Ga. Gey.  
 7 farina] farina. *Ieiunium* Ga. farina: . . . . Gey.  
 8 septimanarum] septimanarum . . . . Gey.  
 9 lucernarii] lucernari P. Ga.  
 11 quarta] III<sup>a</sup> A.  
 13 due] duae Gey.  
 15 quae] [quae] Gey.  
 16 sex] *omīs*. Ga.  
 17 ea] eae P. eae Ga. eam Gey.  
 18 quae] qua Gey.  
 19 toti singulis] totis uigiliis Gey.  
 20, 23 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 22 omnes] oms A.  
 36 apte] aptae Gey.
41. 1 ut fiat *ex rasura* A.  
 4 ergo eo loco] g loco A *supra litt. g litt. o eo (= ergo eo) scrips. A.*<sup>1</sup>  
 11 quae] qua Ga. Gey.  
 13 cantatis] cantu eis Ga. cantu his Gey.  
 14 agitur] agi Gey.  
 20 Iuxta] ista Gey. [omme] omni Gey.  
 23 Eoleona] Eleona P. Ga. Gey.  
 26 Anastase] Anastasi Ga. etiam] et iam Gey.  
 27 hiens] iens P. in quo ante] inquoante P. Ga. inchoante Gey.  
 29 Ibi] ubi Gey.  
 32 sedet] sed et Gey.  
 33 apte] aptae P. Gey.  
 34 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 35 Inbomon] Imbomon Ga.
42. 3 coeperit] ceperit Ga.  
 9 Benedictus] beñ A.  
 10 quae] qui P. Ga. Gey.



42. 15 matrone] matronae P. Ga. Gey.  
 26 lucernarum. Etiam] lucernarium etiam P. Gey.  
 27 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 28 factum] facta Gey.
43. 4 dicitur] dicit<sup>s</sup> A dicit A<sup>1</sup> dicit Gey.  
 6 autem ubi] aũ ubi *cum signis transpositionis* A ubi autem Gey.  
 15 hiuit] iuit P. Iudeos] Iudeos et Gey.  
 26 decima. Ibidem] decima ibidem Gey.  
 30 Martyri] Martyrii P. Ga. Gey. nenit] nenitur Gey.
44. 4 apte] aptae P. Ga. Gey.  
 8 itur] iitur Gey.  
 11 quecumque] quaecumque P. Ga. Gey.  
 13 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 14 accedit] acceditur Gey. eodem] eadem *sed supra litt. a litt. o scrips.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 16 iactum] iactu<sup>s</sup> A. iactus Ga. Gey.  
 22 minimus] minim: A minimum P. Ga.  
 26 ducente] ducentae P. Gey.  
 32 hitur] itur P.
45. 1 Gessemani] Gessamani P ad portam] ad cruce<sup>s</sup> portam *sed uerbum cruce<sup>s</sup> interlen.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 2 ciuitate] ciuitatem P. Ga. Gey.  
 10 confortantes] confortans P. Ga. Gey.  
 11 unus] un; *ex us corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 13 sextam] sexta Ga. Gey.  
 20 quem] quam Ga. Gey.  
 24 mensa] mensae Ga.  
 25 deauratus *ex deauratus corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 26 proferitur] profertur Gey.  
 29 custodent *ex custodeant corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 31 acclinant se] acclinantes Gey.  
 32 pertranseant] pertransean<sup>s</sup> A *supra alteram litt. a litt. u scrips.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 33 furasset] furasse de Gey.
46. 1 pertranseant] pertransean<sup>s</sup> A *supra alteram litt. a litt. u scrips.* A<sup>1</sup>. pertranseunt P. Ga. Gey.  
 3 pertransierint] <et> pertransierint Gey.  
 4 attendent] attendunt *ex attendent corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 5 secunda] secunda feria *sed uerbum feria interlen.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 6 ostium *et quae sequuntur*] ostium, intrans per alterum, per alterum perexiens Ga. per alterum [per alterum] perexiens Gey.

46. 9 estus] aestus Gey.  
 10 grandem] grande P. Gey.  
 13 nichil] nihil P.  
 14 sic] sic<sup>ε</sup> A sic A<sup>1</sup>.  
 15 de passione *ex rasura* A<sup>1</sup>. apostolo] apostolis Gey.  
 19 passionem] de passione Gey.  
 24, 25 nichil] nihil P.  
 25 esset] esse Ga. Gey.  
 27 apte] aptae P. Ga. Gey.  
 29 qui non]  $\varphi$  ñ A. qui in Ga.  
 30 extimari] existimari Ga. aestimari Gey.  
 32 coeperit] ceperit Ga.  
 34 ac] at Ga. Gey.  
 35 omnes] omnia Ga. ad Martyrium] ad Martyrium . . . Gey.  
 47. 4 ponet] *et* ponet Ga. <et> ponet Gey.  
 9 ibi usque] ibi *interlen.* A<sup>2</sup> ibi *omis.* P.  
 10 qui aut] quia ut Ga.  
 17 fiunt] sunt P.  
 19 exient] exen' *sed supra alteram litt. e litt. i scrips.* A<sup>1</sup>. exierint Gey.  
 36 Crucem] Cruce P.  
 48. 5 Eleona] Eleon P.  
 23 ubi] ibi P. Ga. Gey.  
 33 ceperit] coeperit Gey.  
 34 aputactite] *ap-actite* A. aputactitae P. Ga. Gey.  
 49. 7 benedictis] benedictis (tam) Ga. Gey.  
 19 eadem] autem Gey.  
 29 uigilatur *ex uigiliarum corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 50. 3 omnis] omis A.  
 4 sed] sed ut Gey.  
 6 linguae] linguae <audirentur et omnes> Gey.  
 10 legi] legunt Ga. Gey.  
 14 Inbomon] Inbomon P. in Inbomon Gey.  
 17 Christianus] Christianorum Gey. quoniam]  $\varphi$  ñ A. qui non P. Gey.  
 18 subito] subitum Gey.  
 21 sedet] sed et P. interposite] interpositi Gey.  
 25 actus] actis P.  
 26 celis] caelis Ga. Gey.  
 28 inde et] *et omis.* P.  
 29 qua] quae P. Gey.  
 32 fideles etiam] fideles. Et iam Gey.

50. 36 cande] candelae P. Gey.
51. 1 ducente] ducentae Gey.  
 4 baluis] ualuis Gey.  
 7 et sic] et *omis.* Ga.  
 9, 13, 30, 31 antiphone] antiphonae P. Ga. Gey.  
 10 fiet] fit et Gey.  
 20 Sion] Syon P. Ga.  
 24 qua] quam P. nunquam] nunquam Gey.  
 26 id est] id est <ut> Gey.  
 34 uadent clerici autem] clerici aũ *interleu.* A<sup>1</sup>. clerici autem  
 cotidie uicibus uadent de pullo primo P. clerici autem cotidie  
 uicibus uadent; clerici autem de pullo primo Gey.  
 36 omnibus] omibus A.
52. 4 quam] qua Gey.  
 9 quadragesima] quadragesimas Gey.  
 12 ebdomadae] ebdomadae P. Ga. Gey.  
 19 ut si] at si Gey.  
 23 tunc] tun A.  
 27 domine] dominae P. Ga. Gey. extimaretis] existimaretis Ga.  
 aestimaretis Gey.  
 28 consuetuetudo] consuetudo P. Ga. Gey.  
 33 stant loco etiam] stan<sup>s</sup> loco etia<sup>s</sup> loco *cum signis transpositionis*  
*supra stan<sup>s</sup> et etia<sup>s</sup> sed alterum uerbum loco interleu.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 etiam loco stant P. Gey.  
 36 intrat. tunc] intrat *omis.* P. id est sic] sic: id est Gey.
53. 2 soluens *ex* soluet *corr.* A<sup>1</sup>.  
 7 ratione] rationem Gey.  
 12 cathecismus] cathecism: A cathecesis Ga. cathecisin P. Gey.  
 20 non uacat] ñ uacat A. (*sed ñ paene euauit*) non om P. Ga.  
 21 superius sunt] superius <dicta> sunt Gey.  
 22 superat] <et> superat Gey.  
 25 uiri] uir Gey.  
 26 Reddit] reddito P. Gey. redditq Ga.  
 28 istas] istos P. *et in app. crit. perperam* Gey.  
 30 singuli] simboli Gey.  
 31 uerbum] uerba Ga. Gey. autem] aut P. misterii] mysterii Ga.  
 32 qui] quia Gey. cathecumini] cathecumini estis Gey.  
 33 extimetis] aestimetis Gey.  
 35 qui] quia Gey.
54. 4 incumbens] incumbens P. Ga. Gey.  
 9 tante] tantae P. Ga. Gey.  
 11 absoluent] absoluet Gey.

- 54, 13 prouincia] ꝥuncia A. prouincia P. Ga. Gey. greci] grece P. Ga. graece Gey.  
 14, 15, 17, 19, 21 grece] graece Gey.  
 16 stat *ex* statim *corr.* A.  
 18 quecumque] quaecumque P. Ga. Gey.  
 21 sunt] *omis.* P.  
 22 exponitur eis] exponit episcopus Ga.  
 23 greci latini] grec  $\Xi$  latini A. (*litt. e et c et l paene enanuerunt*) grecolatini P. graecolatini Gey.  
 24 admirabile] memorabile P. Ga.  
 27 sint] sunt P. Ga.
- 55, 3 edificauerat] aedificauerat Gey.  
 7 ubi] turbae Gey. actito] aputactitum Gey.  
 11 laetitia] laetitiam P. Ga. Gey.  
 12 seculares] saeculares Gey.  
 13 sed et] sed et *de* Ga. se *de* Gey.  
 14 colligunt] *se* colligunt Ga.  
 17 tante] tantae P. Ga. Gey. sollennitati] sollemnitati P. Ga.  
 19 que] quae P. Gey. proposito] ꝑposito A. praeposito P.  
 21 uel per] per *om.* Gey. locis sanctis] sanctis *om.* P. *In infima pagina quarta añ die quae uerba in summa pagina sequenti scriberentur indicans scrips.* A?

## PREFACE.

Since its first publication by Gamurrini in 1887, the *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*,<sup>1</sup> attributed by him to Sancta Silvia of Aquitania, has deservedly attracted great attention among scholars. Its interest may be said to be threefold: first, as a contribution to our knowledge of the topography of Palestine; in the second place, from the light it throws upon the ritual of the early church, especially in Jerusalem: and, finally, as a valuable addition to our sources for the study of colloquial Latin. Naturally, it is from the last point of view that the strongest appeal is made to the philologist. We find here preserved the Latin of the latter part of the fourth century, as written in a simple and natural manner by a woman of at least moderate education, and certainly of considerable influence with the dignitaries of church and state. Her style has not been affected to any appreciable extent by the great classical models, and she probably wrote just as she spoke. It is not without interest, too, that the *Peregrinatio* is the only extant Latin work of any considerable length written by a woman.

A contribution to the study of the Latinity of this interesting piece of literature is here presented. The method employed has been, first, to make a careful collection of the instances of departure from classical usage, and then, that the proper perspective may be gained, to make note of the extent to which, in each case, the author has also followed the classical standard: for without such a comparison the first set of statistics would, it is clear, possess but slight value. The question that then naturally suggests itself is as to the probable source of these variations. Are they found also in the colloquial speech of earlier times: are they due to the influence of the Latin translations of

<sup>1</sup>For the method of the identification of the author of the *Peregrinatio* with Sancta Silva of Aquitania see Gamurrini's first edition, pp. xxxi-xxxvii. The objections urged against this theory have appeared rather trivial.

the Greek Bible; or are they peculiarities of the so-called Gallic Latin? A perfectly satisfactory answer to this question is, of course, impossible; but an attempt at a partial solution of the problem will be made by indicating those peculiarities of the *Peregrinatio* in syntax or diction that are to be found also either in other literary representatives of the colloquial speech, in the Vulgate, or in Gregory of Tours, who, thanks to the labors of Bonnet, proves a valuable source for our knowledge of Gallic Latin.

This investigation was begun some three years ago at the suggestion of Professor F. F. Abbott, of the University of Chicago, whose helpful counsel and assistance have been of the greatest value in the further progress of the work. The collection of statistics was originally made from Gamurrini's second edition: but just as this part of the work was being completed, Geyer's text appeared, and a comparison of the two editions made it evident that neither editor had closely followed the manuscript in all points, and that the two did not always agree in their reports of its readings. For the purpose of the present study, it then seemed necessary to secure an exact copy of the one manuscript of the *Peregrinatio*. The interest of Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago, in the matter resulted in the visit of Mr. Washburn to Arezzo, where he made the copy of the manuscript which serves as the basis of the text of the present edition. Grateful acknowledgment should also be made of the assistance of Professor Hale in the preparation of the critical apparatus that accompanies the text.



## EDITIONS OF THE PEREGRINATIO.

S. Hilarii Tractatus de Mysteriis et Hymni et S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta. Joh. Franciscus Gamurrini. Rome, 1887.

S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta. J. F. Gamurrini. Editio altera. Rome, 1888.

Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta Saeculi IV Exeuntis. Joh. Pomialowsky. St. Petersburg, 1889.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Vol. XXXVIII Itinera Hierosolymitana Saeculi IIII–VIII. Paulus Geyer. Vienna, 1898.

## GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE.

The following works have proved of especial value, and frequent reference is made to them in the following pages :

Itala und Vulgata. Hermann Rönisch. Marburg, 1875.

Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours. Max Bonnet. Paris, 1890.

Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch. Gustav Körting. Paderborn, 1901.

Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache. F. Neue. Berlin, 1892.

The Latin Language. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford, 1894.

Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius. F. T. Cooper. New York, 1895.

Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache. Karl Sittl. Erlangen, 1882.

Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik, Vols. I–XI. Leipzig, 1884–.

The Latin Pronouns Is : Hic : Iste : Ipse. C. L. Meader. New York, 1901.

References to the works of Gregory of Tours are to the edition in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannover, 1855.



## CHAPTER I.

### ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION.

As we possess but one manuscript of the *Peregrinatio*, and that of comparatively late date, it is clearly impossible to determine accurately how far the variations from the classical orthography are to be attributed to the author of the work and to what extent they are to be regarded as errors of the copyist. Many of these same spellings, however, are to be found in the *Vulgate* and in contemporaneous literature, and are known also from the works of the grammarians.

#### CONFUSION OF VOWELS.

##### I. *e* = *ae*.

- agende = agendae, 14. 31.<sup>1</sup>
- antiphone = antiphonae, 51. 9. 13. 30. 31.
- apte = aptae, 40. 36; 41. 33; 44. 4; 46. 27.
- aputactite = aputactitae, 39. 30; 48. 34.
- auroclauē = auroclauae, 36. 13.
- candele = candelae, 50. 36.
- cede = caede, 20. 30.
- cedat = caedat, 12. 2.
- conuærse = conuersae, 18. 24.
- domine = dominae, 18. 27; 52. 27. Cf. dominae, 8. 6; 26. 35; 27. 20; 31. 33; 32. 4; 53. 12.
- due = duae, 40. 13.
- ducente = ducentae, 44. 26; 51. 1.
- ecclesie = ecclesiae, 7. 16.
- edificauerunt = edificauerunt, 13. 20; edificauerat, 55. 3.
- encenia = encaenia, 54. 32; enceniarum, 54. 28; 55. 2. 5. 19.
- estimare = aestimare, 5. 13; estimet, 29. 16. Cf. aestimabam, 27. 33.
- estus = aestus, 46. 9.
- etate = aetate, 7. 20; 11. 12.
- Faranite, 12. 5. Cf. Faranitae, 12. 9.
- Gethe = Gethae, 21. 33.
- grece = graece, 14. 16; 54. 14. 15. 17. 19. 21.
- greco, 21. 10; greci, 54. 13. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all references are to page and line of this edition of the *Peregrinatio*.

infinite = infinitae, 37. 9.

multe = multae, 19. 30.

optime = optimae, 21. 6.

ostense = ostensae, 18. 35.

parthene = parthenae, 32. 11.

pure = purae, 21. 6.

que = quae, 7. 2; 8. 25; 10. 10; 13. 33; 18. 16; 24. 16; 30. 24; 34. 34;  
38. 9; 55. 19; quae occurs 158 times.

quecumque, 9. 9; 10. 29; 33. 32; 41. 11; 54. 18. Cf. quaecumque,  
8. 4; 24. 26; 40. 36; 45. 5.

quedam, 6. 29; 10. 26; 13. 31; 16. 23; quaedam is not found.

sancte = sanctae, 29. 21.

seculares = saeculares, 55. 12.

septimane = septimanae, 37. 24.

Sirie = Syriae, 23. 26.

tante = tantae, 54. 9; 55. 17.

For a similar confusion of *e* and *ae* in Gregory of Tours,  
see Bonnet, p. 97.

## II. *e* = *oe*.

amenus = amoenus, 29. 2; amenum, 21. 5; amenam, 19. 29.

amenissimam, 21. 4. 36.

cepi = coepi, 7. 36; 22. 3; cepimus, 6. 33; 8. 18; 16. 32; 18. 6; 21. 4;  
22. 13.

ceperit, 32. 18; 34. 17; 40. 20. 23; 41. 34; 42. 27; 41. 13; 48. 33.

ceperunt, 10. 5; ceptum, 16. 32.

Compare coepi, 21. 2; coepit, 9. 5; coeperit, 35. 7; 42. 3;  
46. 32. See Bonnet, p. 104.

## III. *ae* = *e*.

aeclesia = ecclesia, 6. 31; 7. 13. 25; 29. 31; ecclesia occurs 112 times.

In Gregory of Tours aeclesia is found seven times.

cotidiae = cotidie, 33. 29.

Libiadae = Libiade, 16. 34.

## IV. *i* = *y*.

archiotipa = archetypa, 24. 36; 26. 13.

Written also archiotepam, 24. 30. Cf. typo, 42. 13.

giro = gyro, 6. 9; 7. 30; 8. 7; 20. 24; 25. 23; 40. 35; 45. 24. 29. 34;  
52. 32.

girim, 6. 14. 35; 8. 36; 14. 5; 19. 35.

girata, 10. 17; girant, 25. 11; pergirarent, 25. 20.

Compare the caution "gyrus, non girus," Probi Appendix

Keil, iv, p. 197.

martiriorum = martyriorum, 38. 19.

Martyrium occurs frequently; see Chap. V.

misterii = mysterii, 53. 31; misteria, 53. 35; 54. 7. 11.

Misterium is found twice in Gregory of Tours.

simbolum = symbolum, 53. 6. 8. 26.

simboli. 53. 6; simbolo, 53. 27.

Sion. 38. 24; 39. 2. Cf. Syon, 35. 23. 29. and fourteen other occurrences.

Siri = Syri, 23. 34. 36; 30. 6. 8; Siria, 23. 26; 24. 4.

Cf. Syri, 23. 33, and Syriae, 23. 7.

In Gregory, *y* is almost entirely displaced by *i*. See Bonnet, p. 140.

## V. *u* = *uu*.

clusam = clausam, 25. 23.

Cf. clausis. 48. 21, and clauduntur, 54. 8.

cludere is frequent in the Vulgate; see also Petronius, 63.

## THE ASPIRATE.

### I. Absence of initial aspirate.

abitationes = habitationes, 10. 15; abitationibus, 10. 16.

Cf. habitationibus, 16. 9; habitationem, 14. 4; and habita-  
tauerant, 29. 3.

ebdoma larum = hebdomadarum, 37. 31; ebdomas, 39. 26; ebdo-  
madarios, 39. 14.

Compare also the derivative form domadarios, 39. 12.

Hebdomadae is not found in the Peregrinatio.

eortae = heortae, 37. 30.

olesericae = holosericae 36. 14; oleserica, 36. 13.

This same form occurs also in Gregory of Tours, H. F.  
6. 10, p. 255.

ospitium = hospitium, 36. 6.

ymnus (= hymnus) occurs seventy-two times; the form with the  
aspirate not at all.

### II. Incorrect initial aspirate.

habundans = abundans, 24. 9; habundantem, 19. 29.

Compare abundantem, 9. 19, and abundans, 23. 30.

Habundare is found three times in Gregory.

hac sic = ac sic, 7. 3. 24. 34; 9. 3. Ac sic is found forty times.

heramento = aeramento, 20. 27.

heremum = eremum, 12. 4. 33; 22. 19; 28. 8.

heremi. 12. 5. 22; heremo, 12. 33; 17. 18.

hiuit = iuit, 43. 15; hiens, 19. 23; 41. 27; hitur, 36. 25; 44. 32.

Itur occurs ten times, while other forms of the verb with-  
out the aspirate are common.

hornatus = ornatus, 36. 36.

Compare ornatus, 36. 10; 37. 2; 47. 34; 55. 20; ornatu, 36. 17.

hostium = ostium, 7. 14. 35; 8. 24; 18. 9; 34. 16.

hostio, 18. 13; hostia, 32. 10; 34. 6; 35. 8.

Compare ostium, 46. 6; ostiis, 48. 22; ostia, 54. 8.

See the Vulgate, John 18:16.

The pronominal forms *hii* and *hisdem* are, perhaps, to be added to this group.

### III. Incorrect initial aspirate, with prosthesis, forming an additional syllable.

*hispatii* = *spatii*, 17. 32.

### IV. Omission of medial aspirate.

*protraitur* = *protrahitur*, 35. 17.

For a discussion of the confusion of the forms with and without the aspirate, and the evidences in Roman literature, from the celebrated epigram of Catullus down to the Appendix Probi, see Lindsay's *Latin Language*, pp. 54 ff. Not a trace of initial or medial *h* appears in the Romance languages.

## CONFUSION OF CONSONANTS.

### I. Confusion of *b* and *v*.

*annotavimus* = *annotabimus*, 35. 20. Cf. 35. 29.

Similar futures are found in Gregory; see Bonnet, p. 166.

*lebat* = *leuat*, 33. 5. But *leuat*, 42. 6, and *leuatis*, 25. 16.

*baluis* = *ualuis*, 51. 4.

In evidence of similar confusion, see Probi Appendix. 199. 22; 200. 9; 201. 4; 202. 19. This phenomenon is also found frequently in Christian inscriptions from Gaul, e. g., *bixit* for *uixit*.

### II. *ch* for *h*.

*michi* = *mihi*.

This is the invariable spelling where the word is written in full. In many places in the manuscript it appears as the abbreviation *m*.

*nichil* = *nihil*, 7. 22; 14. 7; 18. 23; 30. 33; 36. 12; 46. 13. 24. 25.

*nichilominus*, 22. 11.

### III. *c* for *qu*.

*secuntur*<sup>1</sup> = *sequuntur*, 35. 32.

Compare *sequantur*, 53. 9.

Also *qu* for *c*.

*quooperta* = *cooperta*, 18. 29.

<sup>1</sup> This is really the better form. See Berau, *Die Gutteralen*.



Compare cooperit, 18. 34.

*Quo* and *co* are interchangeable in Gregory. See Bonnet, p. 139.

*qu* for *ch*.

in quo ante = inchoante, 41. 27.

Compare inchoans, 52. 36, and inchoantur, 52. 11.

IV. *di* for *z*.

baptidiare = baptizare.

baptidiati, 47. 18; 48. 9; 53. 34; baptidiantur, 52. 7.

baptidiandi, 52. 33.

Compare baptizasse, 20. 33; baptizandi, 21. 19.<sup>1</sup>

baptizarentur, 21. 20; baptizati, 21. 23.

V. *f* for *ph*.

neofiti = neophyti, 54. 7.

VI. *t* for *d* final.

aput = apud, 30. 36; 47. 24. 30.

Compare apud, 23. 11; 37. 22.

illut = illud, 8. 13.

Compare illud, 5. 26; 8. 6; 26. 6.

VII. *d* for *t* final.

aliquod = aliquot, 15. 25; 25. 24.

Compare aliquot, 18. 32; 23. 26; 24. 5.

So, quod for quot in Gregory of Tours. See also Probi Appendix, 202. 37.

ad = at. Et ad ubi, 33. 4. Compare Et at ubi, 33. 10.

#### OMISSION IN FINAL LETTERS.

The dropping of final *m* and *s* has played an important part in bringing about the confusion that exists in the case government of prepositions, a point that will be discussed in the fourth chapter. Other instances of this familiar phenomenon of the popular Latin are noted here:

I. Dropping of *m* final in nouns or adjectives.

uallem infinitam ingens planissima, 5. 3.

que ad modum, 9. 33.

licet terra Gesse iam nosse, 12. 23.

<sup>1</sup> The distribution of these forms in *di* and *z* in two distinct portions of the manuscript is noteworthy.

memoriam ualde pulchra sed facta, 26. 25.  
 locum iuxta puteum iacente, 29. 26.  
 ut statua quam factura eram ibi facerem, 30. 32.  
 cuius simboli rationem similiter sicut omnium scripturarum ratione  
 exponet, 53. 6.

## II. Dropping of *m* final in verb forms.

nosse = nossem, 12. 23 ; 15. 17.  
 uenisse = uenissem, 23. 4.  
 accedere = accederem, 23. 7 ; 30. 21.

## III. Dropping of *s* final.

piscibus quale ego adhuc nunquam uidi, 25. 3.

### OTHER ERRORS IN SPELLING.

calciamentum for calceamentum, 9. 22 ; 10. 2.  
 oportunum for opportunum, 23. 20.

### ASSIMILATION.

There is so striking a lack of uniformity in respect to the assimilated and unassimilated forms in our manuscript as to render it probable that in some instances the spelling of the archetype was followed, while in others the scribe was influenced by his own habit. Geyer (Preface, p. ix) thinks that in the archetype assimilation was disregarded. The following instances of departure from the classical spelling are noted :

## I. Unassimilated forms.

adparuit, 22. 25.

Compare apparet, 18. 24 ; 25. 36 ; apparuit, 26. 1.

adtentundur, 37. 22.

Compare attenduntur, 37. 23. 24 ; 47. 31 ; 55. 6 ; attendi-  
 tur, 27. 28 ; attendant, 46. 4 ; attendunt, 12. 8 ; attendimus,  
 28. 12.

competens, 52. 14.

Compare competens, 20. 15 ; 29. 25.

inbecillitate, 7. 20 ; 11. 12.

inmorati, 11. 3.

Compare immorata, 24. 2 ; immorari, 11. 31 ; also com-  
 morari, 5. 17 and elsewhere.

imperfecta, 22. 30.

Compare impediti, 7. 21 ; impensissimam, 8. 28.

impossibile, 27. 34.

inpugnant, 25. 15.

nunquam, 6. 14; 25. 3. 21; 37. 26; 43. 33; 51. 18. 24; 54. 16.

nunquid, 31. 3; 36. 16.

sollennibus, 35. 19; sollennitati, 55. 17.

Compare sollemnitate, 37. 8.

Ponpeiopolim for Pompeiopolim, 30. 24, seems to be an instance of false analogy, as if the first syllable were a preposition.

## II. Assimilated forms.

aliquandiu, 11. 1; 21. 28. 29; 48. 30.

tandiu, 11. 3.

quandiu, 15. 2.

optulit, 20. 8. 22; optulerunt, 37. 18.

quendam, 5. 2; quandam, 30. 23.

An instance of the assimilation of *n* final is found in forsitam mille, 30. 31. On the other hand, we meet forsitan miliario in 17. 3.

To this list might be added also the proper name. Imbomon (for Inbomon), 48. 13. 32; 50. 19.

## CHAPTER II.

### WORD FORMATION.

Many of the formations characteristic of the colloquial speech, especially the prepositional verb-compounds, are found in the *Peregrinatio*. For the history of each group, reference is made to Cooper's *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*.

#### NOUNS.

##### I. Nouns in -tor. Cooper, p. 58.

deductor; guide.

ut tamen commonuerant deductores sancti, 5. 7.

notor; guide

qui erant loci notores, 18. 7. Sancti id est loci notores, 22. 6.

##### II. Nouns in -tio and -sio. See Cooper, pp. 3 ff.

actio; Acts of the Apostles.

legitur siue de epistulis apostolorum uel de actionibus, 46. 16.

uisio; visit.

propter uisionem sanctorum illorum, 28. 5.

#### ADJECTIVES.

##### I. Compounds with per. Cooper, pp. 252 ff.

perlustres, 25. 4.

permodica, 14. 12; permodici, 6. 18.

See Celsus, 4. 2; also Suetonius, and Ulpian in the Digest.

##### II. Compounds with sub. Cooper, pp. 256 ff.

subdiuanus\* = sanctus.

locus subdiuanus est, 46. 9.

sublinteatus.\*

mensa sublinteata; with a linen cloth, 45. 24.

It will be noticed that in both of these adjectives the usual diminutive force of the preposition *sub* in composition is not apparent.

\* Not found in Harper's Latin Lexicon.

## III. Adjectives ending in -acus.

ebriacus = ebriosus.

si ebriacus non est, 52. 18.

Cf. Laberius apud Nonium, 108. In the Romance languages, it is represented by the Italian briaco and the Old Spanish embriago. The termination may possibly be influenced by the Greek -ακος.

## IV. Adjectives in -anus. Cooper, pp. 144 ff.

biduanus\* = biduus.

qui autem nec hoc potest, biduanas facit per totas quadragesimas; "fasts two days through the whole season of Lent," 39. 36.

Compare secundanus : Martianus Capella, 1. 47.

medianus\* = medius.

tamen ille medianus mons, 6. 15. 20; also 7. 2. 21. 29; 8. 8. 10. 12.

See Vitruvius, 5. 1.6; Ulpian in the Digest. It is represented by the Italian mezzano and the Spanish mediano.

quintanus = quintus.

quintana pars; one of the entrances to a church.

apertis baluis maioribus quae sunt de quintana parte, 51. 5.

See Isodorus, Et., XV, c. 2.

septimana,<sup>1</sup> a translation of hebdomas, a week, 30. 15; 37. 23. 24. 27; 39. 10. 14. 25. 34; 40. 8. 11. 12. 14. 16. 18; 41. 11. 12. 20; 46. 36; 47. 1; 52. 9; 53. 5. 18. 19. 20. 22. 28.

triduanum = triduum.

triduanum facto, 27. 1; also statium triduanum, 24. 19; 31. 17.

## ADVERBS.

The following unusual forms are especially to be noted :

fortuitu = fortuito, 14. 29.

Fortuito occurs in 38. 21. Fortuitu is a form frequently found in manuscripts. See Neue Formenlehre, II, p. 623. and Priscian Keil, III, 79. 19.

suso, 20. 12; susum, 33. 3; susu, 44. 8; 48. 32.

Sursum is not found in the Peregrinatio. Susum is frequent in the Vulgate. See Roensch, pp. 460. 461.

taliter.

quae taliter exponuntur, 53. 16.

Compare Martial, 5. 7. 3; Pliny, N. H., 35. 11. 40; Vulgate, 1 Kings 14:9; 2 Esdras 8:17; Ps. 147:8; Heb. 10:33; also qualitercumque, Justinian Institutes, I, 25. 16.

<sup>1</sup>See Vulgate, 2 Mach. 12:31.

## VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH PREPOSITIONS.

With con-prefix. See Cooper, pp. 262 ff.

configere, 11. 5.

Found also in Cato and in Cicero's Letters.

collaudare, 54. 10.

Found also in Plautus and in Cicero's Letters.

commanere, 7. 22; 17. 8. 22; 19. 36; 24. 20; 29. 28.

Compare Augustin, Civ. Dei. 22. 8; Gregory, Mart., 38, p. 513.

commonere, 5. 7; 16. 34; 22. 20; 32. 27; 33. 2. 16.

Found also in Plautus and in Cicero's Letters.

commorari, 5. 17; 6. 30. 33; 7. 19; 11. 1. 18. 26; 16. 10; 28. 11.

Found also in Plautus and in Cicero's Letters.

commouere, 54. 12.

Found also in Plautus and in Cicero's Letters.

contristari, 54. 22.

With in-prefix.

inimorari, 11. 3. 31; 24. 2.

With per-prefix. See Cooper, pp. 284 ff.

peraccedere, 16. 22.

Used three times by Gregory of Tours. •

perambulare, 11. 21; 31. 28.

Plautus Most, 809; also Varro. Lucretius. Catullus.

Horace, Phaedrus, Seneca, and the Vulgate.

percurrere, 22. 10; 53. 1.

perdescendere, 9. 15.

perdicere, 33. 10.

perdiscoperire, 22. 25.

perducere, 33. 4.

perexire, 9. 6; 17. 21; 21. 34; 30. 31; 46. 7.

See Latin Version of Irenaeus contra Haereses, II,

praef. 1.

perintrare, 25. 2.

periungere, 8. 19.

perlegere, 43. 5. 6; 44. 20; 49. 6.

persubire, 7. 14.

pertransire, 45. 32; 46. 1. 3.

See Pliny, N. H., 37. 5. 68. Frequent in the Vulgate and in Gregory of Tours.

peruenire, 5. 1; 6. 25. 26. 28; 7. 8. 14; 9. 15. 23; 11. 29. 34; 12. 25;

13. 7. 32; 15. 14. 22. 24; 16. 1. 7. 32. 33; 17. 25. 29; 21. 5; 23. 27.

33; 24. 5. 11. 12; 26. 33; 30. 17. 23. 26. 27; 31. 18. 22. 25; 33. 20;

35. 33; 36. 2; 42. 17; 44. 27. 33; 48. 35; 50. 35; 51. 3.



In many instances, *peruenire* is not to be distinguished in meaning from the simple verb, as may be seen by a comparison of "In eo ergo loco cum uenitur," 5. 6, with "Et in eo ergo loco cum peruenissemus." 9. 23.

*peruidere*, 10. 34 ; 12. 24 ; 13. 4 ; 30. 10.

*peruigilare*, 37. 6 ; 47. 6, 7, 12.

In this list, the following bi-prepositional compounds are included : *perexire*, *persubire*, *pertransire*.

## CHAPTER III.

### FORMS.

As one would naturally expect from the history of colloquial Latin, the departures from the classical usage are in the *Peregrinatio* much less frequent in forms than in syntax.

#### ERRORS IN DECLENSION.

##### I. Confusion of the neuter plural of the second with the first declension.

*uirgultas* for *uirgulta*. 9. 14.

This confusion has had great influence in modern French. See H. Suchier, *Archiv.*, III, 161 ff.

##### II. Confusion of second and third declensions.

*diaconus* is thus declined :

*diaconus*, 33. 10. 13. 16; 35. 12; 46. 3.

*diacono*, 33. 7.

*diacones*, 32. 16; 34. 1. 27; 42. 1; 45. 24. 28.

*diaconibus*, 15. 36; 33. 6; 34. 10; 45. 33.

*Diaconesis* is found in the Vulgate, 1 Tim. 3. 12; *diaconibus*; in Cyprian, Ep. 20. 2; 31. 6; 59. 21. For the forms *diaconis* (gen. sing.), *diaconem*, *diaconibus*, in Gregory of Tours, see Bonnet, p. 371.

*Corpo* as the ablative singular of *corpus* is found in 32. 1. *Corpore*, the classical form, is used three times: 22. 27; 29. 15; 32. 5.

*Martyr*, in the genitive plural, has the forms of both the second and the third declension: *martyrorum*, 38. 22, and *martyrum*, 28. 7.

##### III. Confusion of second and fourth declensions.

*passos* = *passus*, 5. 14; 30. 4.

The regular accusative plural, *passus*, is found in 12. 2. 3; 22. 24; 28. 14. 30; 30. 31; 36. 34; 40. 27. In 14. 1, *passus* is the nominative plural.

*iusso* = *iussu*, 22. 8; 25. 32.

## IV. Confusion of the third and fourth declensions.

noctu = nocte; de noctu, 38. 15.

Compare de nocte, 28. 8.

It would perhaps be more exact to speak of noctu as an ablative of an old form, noctus, parallel to nox. In classical Latin it occurs only as an adverb and usually in combination with diu.

## V. Parallel forms of declension.

Persae, 25. 15, 28. 31. 33; 29. 9; and Persarum, 25. 18; 29. 11; but Persi, 25. 11.

## GREEK ACCUSATIVE.

(See Chap. V.)

## COMPARATIVE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

iuueniores = iuniores, 47. 10.

This form is frequent in Silver Latin. See Neue Formenlehre, II, p. 242.

## IRREGULAR FORMS OF THE PRONOUN.

ipsud = ipsum, 13. 22; 23. 15; 33. 34; 39. 36; 50. 7.

ipsum (neuter) occurs in 12. 29 and 13. 7.

See Neue Formenlehre, II, p. 408. Both ipsud and ipsut are found in the Vulgate.

hae = haec.

hae fundamenta, 20. 25.

hii = ii, 25. 31; 26. 6. 11. 14; 32. 12.

It is possible that this may be a form of hic. hi is found in 6. 13; 25. 32; 39. 12. 13. 25; 52. 7.

hisdem = iisdem, 42. 10; 51. 24; 53. 9; 55. 14. 17.

Compare isdem, 55. 13.

There is a possibility that hisdem may represent his with the enclitic dem added.

## IRREGULAR VERB FORMS.

In Gregory of Tours there is a marked tendency to inflect verbs of other conjugations (especially those of the third in -io) after the analogy of the fourth. See Bonnet, pp. 426 ff. In the Peregrinatio, however, the greater number of errors seem to be due to the intrusion of the second-conjugation forms.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

## I. First conjugation.

ambuletur, 12. 4.

This may be intended as a subjunctive through the influence of the preceding result clause. Elsewhere the regular forms of this verb are used.

manducet, 39. 29.

Compare manducant, 39. 16. 27. 32; 40. 1; and manducare, 41. 27.

Manducet, 39. 15. 24, and manducet. 44. 1, are subjunctive forms.

uigiletur, 51. 26.

Compare uigilat, 47. 23; uigilatur, 49. 29; uigilant, 34. 27; 47. 8. 9. 10; and peruigilant, 37. 6; 47. 12.

Peruigiletur, 47. 6. 7, is a subjunctive.

## II. Second conjugation.

responduntur, 32. 14.

Perhaps by analogy with the preceding verb, dicuntur et responduntur. Compare respondent, 34. 9.

seditur, 41. 36.

Compare sedetur, 48. 30; sedent, 33. 3. 35; 34. 35; 52. 13. 32. 35; sedet, 24. 10; 32. 28; 33. 3; 41. 32; 45. 21; 50. 20. 21; 53. 15; residet, 45. 23. Sedit, in 21. 32; 22. 7, is a perfect.

## III. Third conjugation.

absoluent, 54. 11.

Compare absoluant, a present subjunctive, 39. 12. 18.

accedet, 34. 16; 54. 6.

accedent, 35. 15.

Compare accedunt, 32. 24; 34. 23; 51. 15; 52. 28; acceditur, 32. 31; 33. 25; and accedit, 44. 14. In 52. 25 accedet is a future indicative.

ascendet, 41. 31.

ascendent, 48. 11.

Compare ascenduntur, 6. 34; ascendit, 48. 29; and ascenditur, 50. 15.

attendent, 46. 4.

Compare attendite, 18. 11; attenditur, 27. 28; attendimus, 28. 12; attenduntur, 37. 22. 23. 24; 47. 31; 55. 6; attendent, 12. 8; 28. 15.

colliget, 32. 33; 33. 31; 34. 3; 43. 23; 46. 12.

colligent, 36. 9; 37. 9; 42. 24.

descendet, 32. 27; 33. 2; 34. 5.

descendent, 32. 11. 26; 44. 22.

Compare descenditur, 48. 16; 50. 28. 32.

dicet, 32. 20. 22; 33. 11, 14; 34. 8; 41. 22; 43. 28; 44. 11. 12; 50. 13; 53. 27; 54. 25.

dicent, 14. 9.

Regular present indicative forms of dico are found sixty-five times.

benedicet, 32. 22. 24. 30; 33. 17. 21; 35. 13.

Compare benedicat, 33. 22; 34. 22; and benedicuntur, used thirteen times.

ducet, 48. 19.

ducent, 50. 3.

adducetur, 38. 36.

deducet, 38. 28; deducetur, 42. 13.

Compare ducitur, 34. 20; 42. 29; 53. 17; ducunt, 35. 6; 49. 2; 51. 11; ducuntur, 47. 20; deducunt, 42. 16; 48. 34; adducitur, 45. 4; deducitur, 41. 24; 45. 1.

includet, 31. 6.

This verb does not occur elsewhere in the Peregrinatio.

leget, 34. 16; 41. 2; 43. 3; 51. 27.

legent, 36. 23.

perleget, 43. 5.

Regular forms of the present indicative of lego occur thirty-two times.

mittet, 9. 14; 33. 13. 16; 35. 12; 41. 19. 22; 43. 27.

dimittetur, 47. 29.

Compare mittit, 8. 14; 15. 5; 40. 22; 46. 2; 50. 12; mittitur, 47. 6; dimittitur, 42. 19.

occurrent, 40. 29; 50. 36.

also percurret, 53. 1.

Occurrit is a perfect form in 7. 15; 20. 31; 40. 28. 31.

ponet, 47. 4; ponent, 12. 6.

exponet, 53. 7. 8; 54. 5; reponent, 34. 30.

Compare ponunt, 7. 31; ponitur, 45. 22. 23. 26; 46. 13; 52. 31; 53. 24; interponuntur, 46. 26; 50. 23; exponuntur, 53. 14. 16; 54. 18; exponunt, 54. 23; exponitur, 54. 22.

premet, 45. 28.

This verb does not occur elsewhere in the Peregrinatio.

prendet, 34. 15.

Compare comprehenditur, 41. 8.

reddet, 53. 26.

There is no other present indicative form of this verb in the Peregrinatio.

requiret, 52. 19.

Compare requiris, 29. 5.

tendent, 12. 7.

Compare tenditur, 9. 31; tendunt, 21. 13.

tollent, 14. 14.

There is no other present indicative form of this verb in the Peregrinatio.

uadent, 14. 13; 33. 23; 35. 32; 36. 6; 42. 36; 44. 1; 45. 19; 50. 18;  
51. 33. 34.

uadet, 33. 20; 51. 35; 53. 25.

Compare uadunt, 49. 21.

### Third conjugation in *io*.

accipient, 53. 5.

Compare accipit, 43. 2. 14.

incipient, 33. 18.

Compare incipitur, 11. 36; incipit, 36. 1; 39. 9; 44. 33; 45. 3.

incipiunt, 32. 18; 55. 6.

### The passive indicative of *facio*.

facitur, 43. 26.

fiat, 35. 39. The text, however, is incomplete.

fiet, 37. 34; 51. 10.

fit occurs ninety times and fiunt thirteen times.

#### FOURTH CONJUGATION.

custodiatur, 35. 19.

custodent, 45. 29.

Compare custoditur, 23. 15; 45. 29. 34; custodiatur is a subjunctive in 26. 22. There is, perhaps, a first-conjugation verb derived from custodia, as we may infer from the imperfect custodiabatur in the Vulgate. Luke 8:29.

#### IRREGULAR VERBS.

exient = exeunt, 47. 19.

Compare exit, 25. 6; 34. 20.

deferet, 52. 18.

offeret, 40. 21; 43. 31; 47. 27; offeritur, 43. 33.

proferitur, 45. 26.

Compare offertur, 49. 36; 50. 11; profertur, 36. 15; afferitur, 32. 35; 45. 24; inferuntur, 34. 13.

The present indicative forms afferet and auferet occur in the Vulgate.

#### INCORRECT IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

eminerat = eminebat, 18. 17.

A form, confringeram, is found in Gregory, H. F., 8. 15, p. 335, which is, however, probably intended for a pluperfect.

#### INCORRECT FUTURE INDICATIVE

peruidet, 10. 34. Sed cum leget affectio uestra libros sanctos Moysi. omnia diligentius peruidet. Peruidet is probably influenced

by the preceding *leget* and is intended as a genuine future; thus it is to be distinguished from the several instances of the use of the present indicative with the force of a future.

## INCORRECT PERFECT INDICATIVE.

*arguet*, 49. 5.

The verb does not occur elsewhere in the *Peregrinatio*.  
*ei* for *iui*, 15. 3.

The text is, however, in doubt. See *Critical Apparatus*.

## INCORRECT PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

*acclinant*, 45. 31.

The only other form of this verb is *acclinantes*, 45. 36.  
*accedet*, 52. 23.

*Emendet se et cum emendauerit se. tunc accedet ad lauacrum.* Here *accedet* may be influenced by the preceding *emendet*.

## INCORRECT PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.

*ostensus* from *ostendo*.

*ostensus*, 11. 4; 16. 4; 18. 25; 19. 10; 22. 22. 23; 30. 3. 8.

*ostensa*, 10. 31; 11. 4; 13. 20; 19. 2; 30. 7.

*ostensum*, 13. 8. 12. 16; 18. 2; *ostense*, 18. 35.

See *Servius* to *Verg. Georgics*. I, 248: "*Veteres participium ostentus, non ostensus dicebant.*"

*uenitum* = *uentum*, 39. 2.

Compare *uentum*. 40. 33; 42. 18; 43. 1; 45. 2; 47. 2; 48. 19;  
49. 3; 50. 5. 30; 51. 8. 12; *peruentum*. 33. 20; 36. 2; 44. 27.

## PARTICIPLE ENDING IN O FOR UM.

*subito fuerit*, 50. 18.

This error is undoubtedly the consequence of the dropping of the final *m*.

## SUPINE.

*dormito* = *dormitum*; *reponent se dormito*, 34. 30.

This is the only instance of the supine in the *Peregrinatio*. It is a striking coincidence that the only accusative supine used by *Gregory of Tours* has a similar termination, *H. F.*. 5. 15. p. 207, *ulto irent*.

## ACTIVE VERB AS A DEPONENT.

*optati sumus*, 17. 4.

No other form of the verb occurs in this work.



## DEPONENT VERBS IN THE ACTIVE.

egredere = egredi, 18. 7.

Compare egressi sumus, 7. 35; 18. 12; 27. 15; egreditur, 35. 15; egredienti, 35. 15.

See egredire, Gregory, H. F., 9. 10. p. 367, and egrederes, Patr., 10. 2, p. 707.

furasset, 45. 33; dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasset sancto ligno. The text is clearly corrupt; but a natural emendation is that of Geyer, furasse de. An active form is at any rate evidently intended. The verb does not occur elsewhere in the Peregrinatio. Gregory of Tours uses the active forms, furauit and furauerat.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SYNTAX.

#### A.—*Syntax of the Noun.*

##### PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

The confusion between the accusative and the ablative in the case government of prepositions is one of the striking phenomena of popular Latin, especially in the later period. The most probable explanation seems to be found in the dropping of the final *m*, which would thus in many instances render impossible any distinction between the accusative and the ablative. For a discussion of this point, see the article of Diehl, "*De m finali epigraphica*," in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1899, Supplement-Band XXV, Heft 1. It is evident that in many of the examples from the *Peregrinatio* the ablative cannot be explained as the accusative incorrectly written or pronounced; e. g., *ad Charris in monasteriis*: yet these instances are relatively few, and it is quite conceivable that the confusion began with those nouns the accusative of which, owing to the silent final *m*, could not be distinguished from the ablative, and then, naturally enough, was extended to other words. Thus, the feeling for the case construction being in large part lost, it is not strange that a tendency in the opposite direction makes itself felt and the accusative sometimes takes the place of the ablative. It is quite in accord with this theory that, as will be shown by statistics later, in both the *Peregrinatio* and in Gregory of Tours, the greater number of the cases of irregularity are due to the intrusion of the ablative into the sphere of the accusative. The following prepositions are used with the regular case construction without any exception—*apud*, *ex*, *extra*, *infra*, *prae*, *sub*, *subter*, *supra*, *trans*, *ultra*. *Secundum* is found but once as a preposition, and then correctly with the accusative, in 34. 33.

These prepositions are used in irregular constructions :

I. *A* or *ab* :

*a)* With the accusative.

*a monazontes*, 37. 3.

*b)* With the ablative, fifty-five times.

*Ab* is found with the accusative in the Vulgate,<sup>1</sup> John 5:13, 24, and elsewhere.

II. *Ad* :

*a)* With the ablative.

*ad Anastase*, 38. 3. 15. 36; 39. 8; 41. 9. 25; 42. 14. 18. 21. 29. 34  
43. 12. 21. 34; 47. 2. 6. 20. 26. 35; 48. 4. 5. 16. 35. 36; 49. 1.  
12. 16; 51. 8. 18. 26; 53. 17; 54. 3. 6. 30.

*ad Carris*, 27. 2.

*ad sexta*, 32. 31; 38. 16; 42. 22; 43. 22; 47. 15; 49. 13.

*ad tertia*, 38. 9; 42. 22; 43. 21; 47. 14; 53. 18.

*ad nona*, 38. 18. 22. 24; 42. 23; 46. 13; 52. 3.

*ad sera*, 40. 1.

*ad hora quinta*, 44. 3.

*ad quinquagesima*, 49. 10.

*ad ecclesia maiore*, 51. 2.

*ad die*, 53. 18.

*ad tantam laetitia*, 55. 11.

*b)* With the nominative.

*ad minimus infans*, 44. 21.

*c)* With proper names not declined.

*ad Joseph*, 13. 34; *ad Abraam*, 27. 4; *ad Nisibin*, 29. 6; *ad*  
*Ihur*, 29. 7; *ad Eleona*, 48. 29; *ad Syon*, 49. 2; 51. 12.

*d)* With the accusative.

*ad* with the accusative is found 274 times, including all the  
phrases cited above with the ablative, e.g., *ad Anasta-*  
*sim* (eleven times) and *ad Anastasem* (four times).

III. *Ante* :

*a)* With the ablative.

*ante pascha*, 37. 22. 23.

*ante sole*, 39. 18. Compare *ante solem*, 39. 5. 8. 11.

<sup>1</sup>The references to the Vulgate in this chapter are taken from Roensch and refer to the so-called *Versio Antiqua*. There is naturally great diversity of spelling in the older manuscripts, and in many instances the classical form is found in *Sabatier, Latinae Versiones Antiquae*.

ante Cruce, 46. 13; 48. 6. Compare ante Crucem, 33. 24. 25.  
 28; 45. 2. 16; 46. 9.  
 de ante Cruce. 46. 34.  
 ante hora tertia, 50. 2.

b) With the accusative.

ante is found with the accusative thirty-three times.

c) The adverb ante occurs six times.

Ante with the ablative, in the Vulgate, Ps. 71:7 and  
 Matt. 24:38.

#### IV. Cata = Greek κατά:

a) With the accusative.

cata mansiones, 12. 33.  
 cata singulos ymnos, 32. 14. 17; 33. 36.  
 cata singulos psalmos, 34. 26.  
 euangelio cata Johannem, 46. 33.

b) With the ablative.

euangelio in cata Matheo, 43. 4.  
 cata pascha, 21. 18.

#### V. Circa:

a) With the ablative.

circa puteo, 29. 28.

b) With the accusative six times.

Circa with the ablative is frequent in the Vulgate,  
 Matt. 3:5; 20:3; 27:46; Mark 6:48; and elsewhere.

#### VI. Contra:

a) With the ablative.

contra ipso loco, 25. 29.

b) With the accusative twice.

c) With proper name not declined.

contra Jericho, 16. 13.

d) The adverb contra occurs ten times.

#### VII. Cum:

a) With the accusative.

cum epistolam, 26. 21. Cf. cum epistola, 26. 17.  
 cum monazontes, 32. 16.

Monazontes is found in this form only. So a mona-  
 zontes, 37. 3.

b) With the ablative, ninety-four times.

Several instances of the accusative construction are found in the Vulgate, e. g., *cum publicanis et peccatores*, Matt. 9:11.

VIII. De :

a) With the accusative.

de eo torrentem, 22. 8.

de Ierapolim, 23. 32.

de cancellos, 32. 30, influenced, perhaps, by *de intro cancellos*, 32. 23.

de Anastasim, 33. 19.

de martyrium, 47. 2. Compare *de martyrio*, 48. 4.

de actus, 50. 5. 25.

de hoc ipsud, 50. 7.

b) With the ablative, 208 times.

c) With proper names not declined.

de Hero, 13. 32; de Tathnis, 15. 21; de Ierusalima, 15. 36; 19. 23; 23. 18; 40. 26; de Nabau, 17. 7; de Segor, 18. 31. 33; de Tharso, 30. 19. 23; de Sion, 39. 2; 40. 9; de Imbomon, 44. 14.

De is found several times with the accusative in the Vulgate.

IX. Foras :

a) With the ablative.

foras ecclesia, 54. 10.

b) With the accusative.

foras hostium, 7. 35; 18. 9.

foras ciuitatem, 25. 17; 27. 11. 20.

c) As an adverb.

18. 13; 27. 16; 33. 33; 52. 22.

Both *foras* and *foris* are used with the accusative in the Vulgate. See Matt. 23:26; Acts 16:13; Apoc. 11:2.

X. In :

a) In with the ablative instead of the accusative.

in loco, 5. 6; 9. 22; 11. 35; 12. 11; 15. 29; 28. 21. 22; 41. 35; 44. 9; 45. 16; 48. 21; 50. 19.

in quo, 6. 15. 20; 15. 29; 19. 11.

in illo, 6. 16.

in summitate, 7. 14.

in qua, 8. 19.  
 in alio monte, 8. 19.  
 in porta, 10. 19.  
 in monte, 11. 12; 41. 31; 50. 18.  
 in monasteriis, 11. 14. 23; 30. 2.  
 in quo loco, 12. 11.  
 in terra, 13. 35 (three times), a quotation from the Bible; but  
     the Vulgate reads "in terram."  
 in honore, 14. 10.  
 in Pelusio, 15. 5.  
 in ciuitate, 15. 14; 25. 22.  
 in eodem campo, 16. 22.  
 in ducentis passibus, 20. 36.  
 usque in hodierna die, 21. 18.  
 in alio loco, 22. 28.  
 in caelis, 23. 12; 41. 35; 44. 9; 48. 14; 50. 20. 26; 55. 25.  
 in interiori parte, 25. 2.  
 in patria, 26. 33. 35.  
 in Charra, 27. 6. 26; 28. 23. Compare in Charram, 27. 5.  
 in ipsa ecclesia, 27. 13; 36. 28.  
 usque in luce, 32. 13.  
 in ecclesia maiore, 34. 32; 35. 26; 36. 9; 41. 15. 22; 42. 23; 48.  
     2. 7; 49. 15. 33; 53. 23; 55. 23.  
 in A(na)stase, 36. 2; 37. 12; 38. 29; 42. 30; 54. 8.  
 in templo, 37. 16.  
 in Lazario, 40. 23. 33.  
 in altiori loco, 41. 2.  
 in quinta feria, 41. 7.  
 in septimana, 41. 11.  
 in ecclesia, 42. 36; 43. 28; 44. 2; 51. 6; 55. 24.  
 in spelunca, 43. 12.  
 in lacrimis, 34. 19; 43. 17.  
 in mensa, 45. 26. 27.  
 in sepulcro, 47. 4.  
 in martyrio, 49. 14.

The two cases are combined in 12. 2, in ducentis passus.

To this list, in Lazariu, 36. 33, which illustrates the loss of final *m*, is perhaps to be added. In all, there are ninety-one instances of the ablative instead of the accusative.

- b) In with the accusative in its regular construction is found only thirty times.
- c) In with the accusative in place of the regular ablative.  
     in montem, 10. 6; 11. 4. 6. 26.

in summitatem, 20. 5.  
 in heremum, 22. 19.  
 in eadem ciuitatem,<sup>1</sup> 24. 19. where the two cases are combined.  
 in ipsa ciuitatem.<sup>1</sup> 23. 9.  
 in confinium, 29. 10.  
 in ecclesiam maiorem, 35. 30.  
 in martyrium, 47. 16; 50. 1.

A total of twelve instances.

d) In with the ablative in its regular construction occurs 295 times.

e) In with proper names.

in Faran, 11. 13. 27; in desertum Faran, 11. 32.  
 in Clesma, 12. 20.  
 in Ierusalima, 35. 33; 36. 21; 37. 4. 8. 9; 49. 26; 55. 11.  
 in Helia id est in Ierusalimam, 15. 26.  
 in Arabot Moab et Iordane, 16. 13.  
 in Ierusalimis, 23. 18; in Ierusalimam, 19. 15. 19; 22. 34; 23. 4.  
 in Sodomis. 20. 31.  
 in Enon, 20. 34.  
 in Persida. 26. 2; 29. 6.  
 in Golgotha, 34. 32; 35. 26; 36. 9. 22. 29; 38. 2; 41. 16; 45. 22;  
 54. 29.  
 in Syon, 35. 23. 29; 36. 34; 38. 18. 21. 23. 24. 35; 40. 17; 45. 19;  
 48. 18. 21; 49. 17; 50. 4. 8; 51. 20; 52. 5.  
 in Bethleem, 36. 11; 37. 1. 6; 47. 36; 49. 20. 22.  
 in Eleona, 36. 31; 41. 23. 28. 32; 43. 28; 44. 1; 47. 36; 48. 5. 11.  
 12; 50. 13. 19. 29; 55. 24.  
 in Bethania, 41. 3. 7.  
 in Imbomon, 41. 34; 44. 8; 48. 13. 32; 50. 19.  
 in Gessamani, 44. 22. 25. 27.

It will be seen from the lists given above that in the Peregrinatio the tendency to use the ablative with in is marked. In is found with the accusative correctly 30 times, incorrectly 12 times; a total of 42 instances. On the other hand, it is used with the ablative correctly 295 times, incorrectly 91 times; a total of 386 occurrences with the ablative.

Bonnet, p. 522, gives the following statistics based upon the first 100 pages of Gregory's History of France: cum, with the

<sup>1</sup> Such confusion of cases is probably due to the carelessness of the scribe in the use of the abbreviation for final *m*.



accusative, 5 times : with the ablative, 212 : de, with the accusative, 8 times : with the ablative, 242 : in, with the accusative for the ablative, 31 times : in, with the ablative for the accusative, 81 times : in, used correctly, 418 times. For the confusion of case-construction with this preposition in the Vulgate, see Roensch, pp. 406 ff.

#### XI. Inter :

- a) With the ablative.  
inter Cruce et Anastase, 46. 11,
- b) Inter with the accusative is found twelve times.

#### XII. Intra :

- a) With the ablative.  
intra ciuitate ipsa, 27. 7.  
intra Anastase, 37. 33.  
intra spelunca, 43. 1.  
intra qua ecclesia, 55. 25.
- b) Intra with the accusative occurs eight times.
- c) With a proper name not declined.  
intra Ramesse, 14. 26.

#### XIII. Intro :

- a) With the ablative.  
intro spelunca, 32. 20 ; 34. 13.  
intro Anastase, 51. 28.
- b) With the accusative.  
de intro cancellos, 32. 20. 23. 36 ; intro cancellos, 34. 15 ;  
47. 20.  
intro speluncam, 34. 5.  
Intro is not found as an adverb.

#### XIV. Iuxta :

- a) With the ablative.  
iuxta aqua ipsa, 17. 23 ; iuxta parte, 26. 13.  
iuxta septimana omne, 41. 20.
- b) Iuxta with the accusative is found forty-five times.
- c) With an indeclinable proper name.  
iuxta Salim, 20. 34.

## d) As an adverb.

9. 21; 20. 26; 24. 36; 29. 22.

## XV. Per:

## a) With the ablative.

per ualle illa, 5. 11; 9. 30.

per heremo, 12. 33.

per media Ramesse, 14. 2.

per biduo, 15. 13.

per Palestina, 15. 25.

per triduo, 36. 29.

per toto anno, 38. 33.

per tota septimana, 39. 24; per ipsa septimana, 46. 36.

per tota die, 43. 9; 51. 18.

per epiphania, 47. 35; 55. 21. 22.

per pascha, 33. 32; 37. 14; 47. 33; 48. 17; 55. 20. 22.

The two cases are confused in 45. 1, per totam ciuitate. A total of twenty-two instances with the ablative.

## b) Per with the accusative occurs seventy-nine times.

## c) With a proper name.

per Iericho, 19. 14.

In the Vulgate per is several times found with the ablative, e. g., per eadem uia, Luke 10:31.

## XVI. Post:

## a) With the ablative.

post lectione, 16. 25.

post missa, 39. 23. 25. 28; 48. 17; 53. 34.

post cena, 41. 7.

post sexta, 48. 28; 49. 20; 50. 13.

post pascha, 49. 19.

In all, eleven instances with the ablative.

## b) Post with the accusative, twenty-seven times.

## c) As an adverb post is found twice.

Et post dixit, 25. 13. Et post facta missa uenitur, 47. 24.

Postea also occurs twice.

## XVII. Praeter.

Praeter occurs only in the phrase "praeter oblatio," 38. 26.

The nominative may be due to the use of praeter as a conjunction, equivalent to nisi.

## XVIII. Pro :

- a) With the accusative.  
pro hoc ipsud, 33. 34; pro monazontes, 35. 32.
- b) With the ablative pro occurs twelve times.

## XIX. Prope :

- a) With the ablative.  
prope luce, 36. 1; prope episcopo, 52. 32.
- b) With the accusative.  
prope radicem, 7. 23.
- c) Prope is used twice as an adverb.  
prope usque ad quintam horam, 35. 16.  
ad horam prope secundam, 45. 12.

## XX. Propter :

- a) With the ablative.  
propter populo, 51.1.
- b) With the accusative, sixteen times.  
Compare, in the Vulgate, propter eo, Rom. 8:20,  
37; Heb. 3:19; 5:14; 10:6.

## XXI. Super :

- a) With the ablative.  
que inspiciebat super ipsa ualle, 10. 10.  
quem uidet super ciuitate hac, 25. 27.
- b) Super with the accusative occurs ten times. In one of these passages it is equivalent to de, super hanc rem, 18. 30. In two others the phrase takes the place of a dative case (see p. 105).
- c) Super is an adverb in 44. 26; candelae super ducente.

## PREPOSITIONS WITH ADVERBS—COMPOUND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

- a contra, 18. 36; 19. 3.
- a foras, 18. 35. (So, a foris, in the Vulgate.)
- ab olim, 31. 23.
- a semel, 25. 32. Cf. de semel, Vulgate, Isa. 66:8; ad semel, Gregory, H. F., 4. 31, p. 167.
- ad mane, 33. 9, 16; 41. 14; 42. 21; 43. 21; 47. 11; 49. 13.

ad subito, 21. 30; 22. 14; 25. 16.  
 ad sero, 47. 1.  
 ad tunc, 22. 26.  
 contra faciem Jericho, 15. 31. Cf. a facie Achab, 8. 21, and Augustin. De Ciuitate Dei, 16. 24; et posuit ea contra faciem alterum alteri.  
 de ante Cruce, 46. 34. Cf. ab ante (French, *avant*), in the Vulgate.  
 de contra (adverb), 6. 23; 10. 9; 13. 9; 18. 15; 24. 33; 30. 3.  
 de foris (adverb), 32. 35. Found in Vulgate; also Herm. Pastor, III, 97.  
 de inter montes, 11. 35; 12. 11. 15.  
 de intro cancellos, 32. 20. 23; 33. 1.  
 e contra, 22. 14. Found in Vulgate; also Servius. ad Aen., VII, 706. and XI, 660.  
 in ante, 13. 6; 27. 1.  
 in cata Matheo, 43. 4.  
 in giro colliculo, 20. 24.  
 in giro parietes, 8. 7.  
 in giro mensa, 45. 24.  
 in giro = circa (adverb), 40. 34; 45. 28. 34; 52. 32.  
 in hodie, 5. 21; 8. 24; 9. 14; 10. 8. 16; 14. 6; 16. 10; 18. 1. 22; 21. 10. 32; 22. 30; 24. 7; 25. 32. 35; 26. 1.  
 in mane, 39. 2. 7; 40. 10; 44. 36; 47. 9.  
 in medio quinta feria, 39. 35.  
 in Choreb, 8. 20. The phrase is a proper name.  
 intus in Persida, 29. 6.  
 per girum = circa, 6. 13. 35; 8. 36; 14. 5.  
 per girum ipsius colliculi, 19. 35.  
 per giro = circa, 6. 9; 7. 29; 25. 23.

#### PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE FOR A CASE-CONSTRUCTION.

The analytic method of expressing the relation of nouns to other words in the sentence by means of prepositional phrases, rather than by case-constructions, so characteristic of the Romance languages in contrast to classical Latin, must have been developed even at a comparatively early period in the people's speech. Its progress is believed to have been especially rapid in the Gallic Latin: so that the large number of examples in the Peregrinatio is quite significant.

##### I. Ad-phrase with a verb of saying.

dixisse ad Ioseph, 13. 24.  
 dicens ad eum, 15. 29.  
 ait ad me, 26. 15.  
 dicente Domino ad Abraam, 27. 4.

Pilatum ad Dominum dixisse, 45. 5.

Also with audire.

qui ad audiendum intrant ad ea quae dicuntur, 53. 14.

The dative with dicere occurs fourteen times: 9. 21; 10. 2; 18. 8. 11. 32; 19. 6; 20. 2; 21. 9. 18; 22. 5; 23. 18. 19; 44. 19; 48. 23; with ait eight times: 20. 16. 23; 24. 24. 34; 27. 17; 28. 25. 35; 29. 4.

Gregory uses the ad phrase with both of these verbs.

## II. Ad-phrase for the ablative.

commoueri ad ea, 54. 12.

ad diem = die, 27. 24; 28. 3.

## III. Ad-phrase for the dative.

Cum Moyses acciperet legem ad filios Israhel, 8. 35.

Cum haec ad uestram affectionem darem, 31. 24.

So in C. I. L., IX, 3513 (57 B. C.). Si pecunia ad id templum data erit: quod ad eam aedem datum erit. In Gregory, H. F., 3. 6, p. 114: dant ad eum uoces.

## IV. Ad-phrase to express place where.

ad Egyptum fueram, 12. 23.

ad Thebaidam fueram, 14. 33; 15. 17.

ad ipsum fontem facta est oratio, 21. 13.

fui ad ecclesiam, 27. 6.

ad sanctam ecclesiam nichil aliud est, 30. 33.

facta oratione ad Martyrium, 31. 11. Compare also 42. 28. 34; 43. 11. 26; 46. 35; 52. 13. 31.

haec operatio ita habetur ad Crucem et ad Anastasim, 33. 30.

fit oratio ad Crucem, 42. 19.

orare ad columnam illam ad quem flagellatus est Dominus, 45. 20.

fit ergo lucernarium tam ad Anastase quam ad Crucem, 49. 1. 12; 51. 26.

quae est ad Anastase, 54. 30.

Compare Terence, Phormio, 593, ad forum eum opperiri. Varro ap. Nonum, 133; Cicero, ad fam., 11. 18, ad omnia templa gratulationem fecimus; and Pliny, Ep., 2. 2. 3. See Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus, p. 76. Ad is used in the Vulgate for both apud and in.

## V. Ad-phrase to express time when.

Item ad lucernares similiter fit, 35. 17.

ad horam sextam aguntur: similiter et ad nona, 52. 2. 3.

ad singulas lectiones et orationes tantus affectus et gemitus est, 46. 27.

iuxta consuetudinem ad tertia: item fit ad sexta: ad nonam  
autem non fit, 47. 14.  
totum ad momentum fit, 47. 23.  
fit missa ad tertia. 53. 18.

#### VI. Ad for apud.

fui ad episcopum, 30. 27.  
ad nos, 47. 17. 32. Compare apud (aput) nos, 37. 22: 47. 24. 30.

#### VII. De-phrase for the genitive.

clerici de ipsa ecclesia, 29. 29.  
dederunt eulogias id est de pomis, 7. 26.  
de quibus abitationibus fundamenta parent, 10. 16.  
episcopo de Arabia, 14. 15.  
fundamenta de castris et habitationibus, 16. 9.  
presbyter loci ipsius, id est de Libiadae, 16. 34.  
apertis baluis maioribus quae sunt de quintana parte, 51. 4.  
fundamenta de palatio, 20. 25.  
de argento et heramento modica frustella inuenit, 20. 27.  
eulogias id est de pomario, 21. 24.  
omnia hostia de basilica, 35. 8.  
numerus autem uel ponderatio de ceriofalis uel cicindelis aut  
lucernis, 36. 15.  
sed tantum aqua et sorbitione modica de farina, 40. 6.  
summitates de ligno sancto, 45. 28.  
diaconibus de Ierusalima, 15. 36.  
episcopum loci ipsius id est de Segor, 18. 31.

For the development of this construction see P. Clairin, *Du Génitif latin et la préposition de*. Many parallels are to be found in Gregory. Bonnet, pp. 610 ff.

#### VIII. De-phrase to express partitive idea.

Ubi de spiritu Moysi acceperunt septuaginta uiri, 10. 23.

#### IX. De-phrase for in, with the ablative.

et de scripturis bene instructus, 20. 17; 28. 17.  
Cf. in scripturis eruditus, 14. 20. 36; 35. 2.

#### X. De-phrase for the ablative of means.

episcopus de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet,  
45. 27.  
primum de fronte sic de oculis tangentes crucem, 45. 36.

So, in the Vulgate, et nunc occidam de lancea, 1 Sam. 26:8; Gregory, H. F., 1. 10, p. 39, horrea de lapidibus quadris aedificauit. Four other examples are cited by Bonnet.

- XI. De-phrase for the ablative of time.  
de alia die quinquagesimarum omnes ieiunant, 51. 22.
- XII. De se for ipse.  
Quae aeclesia habet de se gratiam grandem, 7. 13.
- XIII. In-phrase for genitive of the charge.  
in aliquo accusatur, 52. 21.
- XIV. Super-phrase for the dative case.  
imposuerat manus super eum, 16. 15.  
super me misericordiam praestare, 31. 32.

## PREPOSITIONS WITH AN UNUSUAL MEANING.

- I. Ad equivalent to apud.  
See examples cited above.
- II. De for ex.  
exiremus de aeclesia, 7. 25.  
exeuntes de Hero, 13. 32.  
egredere de ecclesia, 18. 7.  
exeuntes de ualle, 11. 9.  
exeuntes de Ramesse, 12. 25.  
exi de terra et de domo, 27. 5.  
de palatio exit, 25. 6.  
de spelunca eicitur, 32. 36.  
exient de fonte, 47. 19.  
The confusion of these two prepositions is frequent in Gregory.
- III. Iuxta, according to.  
iuxta scripturas, 5. 1; 11. 25; 13. 1.  
iuxta quod ei fuerat reuelatum, 22. 21.  
iuxta consuetudinem, 9. 26; 13. 11. 28; 17. 19; 20. 13; 21. 34; 24. 13; 33. 4; 35. 5. 17; 36. 26. 27; 38. 24; 40. 17; 41. 9. 15. 18; 43. 22. 35; 47. 14. 22; 49. 15. 29. 36; 51. 23. 28; 52. 3. 5.

The following synonyms for this last phrase indicate an effort on the part of the author to avoid monotony:

- ex consuetudine, 12. 9; id consuetudinis erat, 16. 27.  
sicut habent consuetudinem, 17. 12.  
singula quae consuetudinis erant facere, 21. 15.  
sicut est consuetudo, 30. 1; 38. 12.  
sicut solet esse consuetudo, 33. 7.  
secundum consuetudinem, 34. 33.



quae consuetudinis sunt, 37. 19; 41. 13; 42. 20.  
 quae consuetudinis est, 43. 20; 47. 23.  
 omnia quae consueuerunt agi, 47. 1.  
 consuetudinaria aguntur, 49. 13.  
 quae consuetudinaria sunt, 49. 32. 34; 52. 2.  
 aguntur omnia legitima, id est offertur iuxta consuetudinem,  
 49. 35.

#### IV. Pro equivalent to propter.

qui tamen pro etate aut inbecillitate occurrere non poterant,  
 11. 12.  
 qui ibi nunc praesidet pro disciplina Romana, 13. 10.  
 qui nobis pro disciplina Romana auxilia praebuerant, 15. 2.  
 attendimus locum illum pro memoria illius, 28. 13.  
 luminaria pro hoc ipsud pendent, 33. 34.  
 pro monazontes qui pedibus uadent necesse est leuius iri,  
 35. 32.  
 pro sollemnitate autem et laetitia ipsius diei infinite turbae se  
 colligent, 37. 8.  
 pro populo ne fatigentur, 51. 3.

Pro is found with its regular meaning in 7. 30 and  
 47. 22.

#### V. Super equivalent to de.

fallere uos super hanc rem, 18. 30.

This meaning of the preposition is not unknown in  
 classical Latin; e. g., Horace, Odes. 3. 8. 17, mitte ciuilis  
 super urbe curas.

#### OMISSION OF PREPOSITION.

non ipsa parte exire, 9. 7.  
 signa locis et locis ponent, 12. 6.  
 illa parte ostensus est mons, 19. 8.  
 qui est medio uico positus, 20. 5.  
 usque tertium miliarium, 25. 19.  
 mansi loco, 31. 24; sedent locis suis, 33. 3; loco sunt, 34. 29.  
 si aliud animo sederit, 32. 3.  
 sicut et singulis locis sanctis fit, 33. 6.  
 quia in Golgotha est et ideo Martyrio, 41. 16.  
 ponitur episcopo cathedra media ecclesia maiore, 52. 12.

Cf. ponitur cathedra episcopo in ecclesia maiore,  
 52. 32.

stant loco, 52. 33.

omni laetitia eadem die celebrarentur, 54. 36.

Cf. aguntur omnia cum summa laetitia, 37. 13.  
 diversis locis sanctis proceditur, 55. 21.

B. — *Irregularities of Case Construction.*

## I. Accusative for predicate nominative.

ad ciuitatem que appellatur Ponpeiopolim, 30. 24.

## II. Apparent ablative for predicate nominative.

in ciuitate quae appellatur Corico, 30. 26.

in basilica quae est loco iuxta Anastasim. 33. 33.

Probably loco stands for in loco.

in ecclesia maiore quae appellatur martyrio, 38. 2.

## III. Nominative for accusative.

nunc est comes, sed grandis; quod nos dicimus vicus, 13. 25.

id est dendrosa lethiae, quod nos dicimus arbor ueritatis, 14. 17.

quod hic appellant eortae, id est quadragesimas, 37. 30.

in septimana paschale. quam hic appellant septimana maior, 41. 12.

illa una septimana paschalis. quam hic appellant septimana maior, 53. 23.

## IV. Apparent ablative for accusative.

Sane licet terra Gesse iam nosse, 12. 23.

Nam (ciuitas) ecclesia habet et martyria, 24. 8.

necesse me fuit ibi statua triduana facere, 24. 18.

cuius archiotipa uides iuxta parte posita. 26. 13.

post biduo quam ibi feceram, 29. 19.

feci postmodum septimana, 30. 15; ut statua ibi facerem, 30. 32.

ille eos uno et uno benedicit, 32. 24.

sed (gustent) tantum aqua et sorbitione modica de farina. 40. 6.

quia citius missa fieri necesse est, 43. 24.

sicut omnium scripturarum ratione exponet, 53. 7.

Most of these apparent ablatives may best be explained by the theory of the silent final *m* of the accusative. See p. 93.

## V. Extent of space :

## a) Regular classical construction.

per iter quod ierant, 12. 14.

iter nostrum quo ueneramus reuersi sumus, 12. 16.

ambulauerunt iter suum, 12. 18.

quantum irent dextra tantum reuenterentur sinistra, 13. 5.

quantum denuo in ante ibant, tantum denuo retro reuertebantur, 13. 6.

uolebam discere loca quae ambulauerunt filii Israhel, 15. 18.

et iter omne quod iueramus regressi sumus, 19. 14.

perexiimus iter nostrum, 21. 34; ire cepimus iter nostrum, 22. 12.

profecta sum iter meum, 31. 17.

b) Expressed by the ablative.

iter nostrum quo ueneramus, 12. 17.

iter nostrum quo ibamus, 21. 27.

VI. Duration of time :

a) Expressed by the ablative.

commorati sunt his diebus, 5. 18.

fuit ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, 5. 19.

mansimus in ea nocte, 6. 31.

fuert castra his diebus quibus Moyses fuit in montem, 10. 6.

biduo immorari, 11. 31.

aliquo biduo ibi tenuit nos episcopus, 14. 32.

plorauerunt filii Israhel quadraginta diebus, 16. 13.

post tot annos quibus sedebat in heremum, 22. 19.

quam tamen custodierunt mensibus aliquod, 25. 24.

et cum toto auno semper dominica die procedatur, 35. 25.

nunquam hic toto anno sabbato ieiunatur, 37. 27.

sicut et toto anno dominicis diebus fiet, 37. 34.

quae et toto anno dominicis diebus fiunt, 37. 35.

sicut et toto anno, 38. 8. 10. 17; 39. 32; 49. 12. 32; 51. 23. 25;

52. 4.

tota autem nocte uicibus dicuntur psalmi, 39. 5.

aguntur ea quae totis quadragesimis, 42. 22.

quoniam et tota nocte laborauerint et laboraturi sint ipsa die, 45. 7 ff.

qui non illa die illis tribus horis ploret, 46. 30.

tota nocte dicuntur ymni, 47. 10; tribus horis docentur, 53. 18.

octo diebus attenduntur, 55. 5.

The ablative is used much more frequently by Gregory than the accusative to express duration of time. See Bonnet, p. 555. The construction has a much wider range even in classical Latin than is generally recognized in the grammars. See Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, I, 534.

b) Expressed by the accusative or by a per-phrase.

iter facientes per biduo, 15. 13; per quas ieramus tres annos 23. 1.

haec operatio per dies sex habetur, 33. 29.

per triduo \*homines laetitia celebratur, 36. 29.

per octo dies omnis laetitia celebratur, 36. 36.

per totos octo dies is ornatus est, 37. 2.

consuetudo est per totum annum agi, 38. 13.

per toto anno, 38. 33; per totas quadragesimas, 39. 36.

quae factae sunt per sex septimanas, 40. 18.

aguntur omnia per tota die, 43. 9; per totum annum, 43. 32.

per illas tres horas docetur populus, 46. 24.

per ipsa septimana agi, 46. 36; 47. 1.

fiunt missae per octo dies, 47. 32. 34.

hoc per totos octo dies fit. 48. 16.

Nam semper ipsos dies sicut toto anno consuetudinaria aguntur, 49. 12.

per ipsos dies quadraginta quibus ieiunatur, 52. 29.

per illos dies quadraginta, 53. 1. 10; per illos dies, 53. 4; 54. 1.

per tres horas fit cathecismus, 53. 11.

per septem septimanas, 53. 18. 28.

per octo dies paschales, 53. 34.

per singulos dies proceditur, 55. 21.

The combination of the two constructions is to be noticed in 49. 12 and 52. 29.

The simple accusative occurs twice, the per-phrase twenty-seven times.

## VII. Apparent ablative to express limit of motion.

perueni Pelusio, 15. 22; reuersa sum Tharso, 31. 16.

Ierusalima colligunt, 55. 14.

The regular accusative is employed as follows: 14. 2; 15. 17; 23. 21; 24. 11; 30. 19; 31. 22. 25. 29. 35. Tatnis in 15. 14 (peruenimus Tatnis) is evidently indeclinable, the same form being used as a nominative in the following line.

## VIII. Nominative absolute.

et benedicens nos episcopus profecti sumus, 22. 32.

dictus etiam unus psalmus et iterata oratione et sic benedicens nos episcopus egressi sumus, 27. 14 ff.

et sic exiens de cancellos similiter ei ad manum acceditur, 32. 30.

Inde descenditur cum ymnis, omnis populus usque ad unum toti cum episcopo ymnos dicentes, 50. 32.

The following is, perhaps, rather an example of anacolonthon: Ac sic ergo facientes iter singulis diebus ad subito de latere sinistro, unde e contra partes Fenicis uidebamus, apparuit nobis mons ingens, 22. 13 ff.

The participle stands alone as a nominative absolute. Ingressi autem in ecclesia dicuntur ymni. 51. 6.

See W. Hartel, *Archiv.*, III, p. 41; also Vergilius Maro, *Ep.*, 5. 1. 19. Nominatiuus casus participii modo et ablatiuus sepe pro se inuicem ponuntur, quod sit rectum an secus eorum qui ita scribunt arbitrio relinquamus.

This construction is frequent in Gregory of Tours. It is noteworthy, however, that the accusative absolute, which he uses freely, is not found in the *Peregrinatio*.

## IX. Confusion of ablative and nominative absolute.

factis orationibus et cetera quae consuetudo erat fieri, 24. 14.  
facta oratione nec non etiam et lecta omnia actus Sanctae Teclae,  
31. 11.

et completo earum septimanarum uigiliae, 40. 8.

The ablative of the participle is used with a substantive clause.

excepto si martiriorum dies euenerit, 38. 19.

Cf. Augustin, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 1. 9. Excepto enim quod unusquisque quamlibet laudabiliter uiuens cedit carnali concupiscentiae.

The regular ablative absolute construction is found ninety-six times.

## X. Adverbial accusative.

A striking example of this rather rare construction is found: *Ministerium omne genus aureum gemmatum profertur*, 36. 14, "Every kind of service of gold and jewels."

## XI. Cognate accusative.

A rather unusual cognate accusative is met with in 52. 3: *iuxta consuetudinem quam consuevit toto anno fieri*.

## XII. Genitive for dative with a verb compounded with sub.

quae subiacet montis Dei, 9. 11.

This probably merely an error in writing. Cf. *subiacere monti Dei*, 10. 31.

## XIII. Accusative for the locative.

quando Alexandriam fueram, 15. 17.

As in occasional colloquial English. "I had been *to* Alexandria."

## XIV. The locative case of nouns not names of cities.

et sic fit missa Anastasi, 33. 17.

ornatus sit illa die ecclesiae uel Anastasis aut Crucis aut in Bethleem, 36. 10.

cum missa ecclesiae facta fuerit, 36. 25.

ut fiat missa ecclesiae, 35. 3.

post missa ecclesiae 39. 28. Cf. *fit missa in ecclesia maiore*, 36. 22.

post missa Martyrii 41. 26; *facta missa Martyri*, 43. 30. Cf. *ad Martyrium*, 41. 21; 42. 28.

## XV. Logical, not grammatical, agreement.

maxima autem turba peruigilant. alii de sera. alii de media nocte,  
47. 11.

nisi testimonia habuerit qui eum nouerint. 52. 25.

## XVI. Attraction of the relative to the case of its antecedent.

ut si probauerit sine reprehensione esse de his omnibus quibus  
requisiuit, 52. 19.

Cf. Cicero ad Fam., 5. 14. 1: et aliquid agas eorum  
quorum consuesti; also Horace. Sat., I, 6. 15; Vulgate,  
Luke 1:1.

## XVII. Miscellaneous mistakes in agreement.

uallem infinitam ingens planissima, 5. 3.  
per ualle illa quam dixi ingens, 5. 11.  
lecto ergo ipso loco omnia de libro Moysi, 7. 23.  
ostenditur ibi altarium lapideum quem posuit ipse Helias, 8. 25.  
ad quem petram, 10. 13.  
nunc est comes sed grandis, quod nos dicimus uicus, 13. 25.  
de illa statua quas dixi,<sup>1</sup> 14. 22.  
pulchriorem territorium, 15. 11.  
in summitatem ipsius fabricam, 20. 5.  
uisis omnibus locis ad quos me tenderam,<sup>2</sup> 23. 5.  
unde denuo proficiscens peruenimus Edessam, 24. 10.  
fontes piscibus pleni quale<sup>3</sup> ego nunquam uidi, 25. 3.  
ad illum palatium superiorem, 26. 26.  
uisis etiam sanctis monachis uel aputactites, 31. 15.

Aputactites, perhaps, for aputactitis.

in omnibus sanctis locis quos superius nominaui,<sup>2</sup> 37. 1.  
reuertuntur omnes rectus ad Anastase, 41. 9.  
quotquot sunt infantes usque etiam quae ambulare non possunt,  
42. 10.  
cum factum fuerit missa, 42. 28.  
orare ad columnam illam ad quem, 45. 20.  
quasi atrium ualde grandem et pulchrum, 46. 10.

## XVIII. Omission of quam after a comparative.

immorata sum ibi plus media die, 24. 2.  
est hora plus decima, 50. 31.  
episcopi plus quadraginta aut quinquaginta sunt, 55. 15.

## XIX. Milia as an adjective.

milia passos forsitan sedecim, 5. 14.  
quattuor milia passus sunt, 14. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Probably for de illas statuas, with dropping of final s.

<sup>2</sup> As against these two instances of the masculine plural of locus, the neuter, loca, occurs twenty-seven times, excluding the neutral form, locis. On the other hand, loca, in the sense of passages in a book, is found in 44. 5 and 46. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Probably for quales, with dropping of final s.

B.—*Syntax of the Verb.*

## I. Tense-uses :

## a) Present with force of future.

The use of the present with a genuine future meaning is, of course, not strictly confined to the colloquial Latin, although in the classical writers it is far less frequent and is limited to comparatively few verbs. It seems to be a survival from a very early period when the present tense was employed without any distinct differentiation between present and future time.

Sed cum leget affectio uestra, omnia peruidet, 10. 34.

Pervidet may be a future form, however. See p. 90. uide terram quam ego do filiis Israhel.<sup>1</sup> 15. 33.

si uultis uidere aquam, potestis uidere; si tamen uolueritis laborem uobis imponere, 16. 36 ff.

accedite foras hostium ecclesiae . . . et uidete. Et dicimus uobis, 18. 9 ff.

Compare Dic filia, quod uis, et dicam tibi, 28. 18.

nam si uis, ecce modo pedibus duco uos ibi, 20. 36.

si libenter habes, quaecumque loca sunt hic grata . . . , ostendimus tibi, 24. 26 ff.

cum uolueris ire, imus tecum et ostendimus tibi, 28. 36.

non credo, nisi uidero, 48. 24.

## b) Sequence of tenses.

There is one strange instance of a pluperfect in a result clause :

ita tamen ut lapis cum corpore non moueretur in alio loco, sed ibi, ubi inuentum fuerat corpus, positum esset et ut corpus subter altarium iaceret, 22. 27 ff.

## II. Substantive clauses for the infinitive construction.

## a) With dico.

dicent eo quod filii Israhel eas posuerint, 14. 9.

episcopus dixit quoniam iam aliquot anni essent a quo non pareret columna illa, 18. 31.

tunc dictum est quia in isdem diebus castra ibi fixa habuissent, 19. 6.

Illud etiam presbyter sanctus dixit nobis eo quod usque in hodierna die semper cata pascha quicumque essent baptizandi in ipso uico, id est in ecclesia, quae appellatur opus Melchisedech, omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur, 21. 17 ff.

<sup>1</sup>A quotation from the Bible. The Vulgate reads, "quam ego tradam filiis Israel," Dent. 32:49.



dicentibus aliis apostolis quia Dominum uidissent. 48. 23.  
dicens eo quod ex ea die custodiatur, 26. 20 ff.

Of the conjunctions introducing the substantive clause, *eo quod* is used three times, *quia* twice, and *quoniam* once. The infinitive is found after *dico* ten times: 9. 1; 10. 31; 14. 8. 11; 18. 3; 23. 8; 25. 1; 45. 32; 46. 18. 22. In 45. 32 there is apparently a combination of the two constructions: *dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasset*.

b) With *retulit*.

*Sanctus episcopus retulit eo quod Farao quando uidit quod filii Israhel dimiserant eum, tunc ille priusquam post illos occuparet, isset cum omni exercitu et incendisset eam omnem*, 14. 24. The change of mood is to be noted. *Illud etiam retulit sanctus episcopus eo quod hii fontes ubi e rupe ierunt ante sic fuerit campus*, 26. 6.

*Eo quod* is the conjunction in both passages.

c) With *scio*.

*Illud uos uolo scire qui ita infra nos uidebantur esse illi montes*, 8. 6 ff.

*hoc solum scio quia postmodum puer Abraae uenerit*, 28. 22.  
*sciens quia libenter haberetis haec cognoscere*, 32. 9.

*Deus autem scit quoniam maiores uoces sunt fidelium*, 53. 12.

The indicative occurs twice; the subjunctive, twice.  
*Quia* is employed twice as the conjunction; *quoniam*, once. The form *qui* is doubtless an error.

d) With *credo*.

*Sed michi credite quia columna ipsa non paret*, 18. 27.

*Nam michi credat uolo affectio uestra quoniam nullus Christianorum est qui non se tendat*, 23. 15.  
*credidit ei quia esset uere filius Dei*, 24. 35.

*Quia* is used twice: *quoniam*, once; the indicative mood, twice; the subjunctive, once. The infinitive construction is found only in 13. 4.

e) With *uideo*.

*Video* is followed by a substantive clause only once: *quando uidit quod filii Israhel dimiserant eum*, 14. 24.

The accusative and infinitive occurs in 7. 8; 19. 22; 20. 28; 24. 24; 25. 25.

f) With *testor*.

*scriptura hoc testatur quoniam huc uenerit puer sancti Abraae et denuo sanctus Iacob hic uenerit*, 28. 30.

Compare *quem se illuc missurum Deus noster testatus est*, 23. 11.

g) With *promitto*.

tu promiseras ne aliquis hostium ingrederetur ciuitatem.  
25. 14.

Compare *qui hoc promiserat futurum*, 26. 1.

h) With *ostendo*.

The two constructions are combined in 46. 21 :  
ut ostendatur omni populo quia quicquid dixerunt  
prophetae futurum de passione Domini, ostendatur  
tam per euangelia quam etiam per apostolorum scrip-  
turas factum esse.

i) With *inuenitur*.

et hoc per scripturas inuenitur quod ea dies sit enceniarum,  
55. 1.

Eo quod is used to introduce an infinitive in 27. 35 :  
quia audieram eos eo quod extra diem paschae et  
extra diem hanc non eos descendere.

The following table will show the conjunctions employed in the various substantive clauses, and also the use of the moods :

	eo quod.	quod.	quia.	quoniam.	ne.	qui (?)	indic.	subj.
dicere .....	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	6
retulit .....	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
scire .....	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	2
credere .....	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1
uidere .....	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
testari .....	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
promittere .....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
ostendere .....	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
inuenitur .....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total .....	5	2	7	4	1	1	5	15
indicative .....	0	1	1	2	0	1	5	
subjunctive .....	5	1	6	2	1	0	15	

Gregory of Tours uses the substantive clause with all of these verbs cited above. See Bonnet, pp. 659-71, where the following statistics are given for the first fifty pages of the *History of France* :

	indic.	subj.
quia .....	10	1
quod .....	2	8

He does not mention any occurrence of *eo quod*—a usage that is difficult of explanation according to the common theory that the substantive clause with these verbs has been influenced in its development by the Greek *ὅτι* clause. For the construction in the Vulgate, see Roensch, p. 402. *Quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* are the conjunctions there used.

A Germanic development is suggested by Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache*, p. 56. Later he seems to refer to Greek influence (pp. 110 ff.), where he also gives a survey of the extended use of the construction in African Latin. Probably the earliest occurrence of the construction is found in the *Bellum Hispaniense*, chap. 36: *legati renuntiauerunt quod Pompeium in potestate haberent*.

### III. Indicative in indirect questions.

*Ostenderunt quemadmodum eorum abitationes habuerant*, 10. 14.  
*dixit nomen ipsius arboris quemadmodum appellant eam*, 14. 16.  
*et dicimus uobis singula quae sunt loca haec quae parent*, 18. 11.  
*et illud etiam scribere debui quemadmodum docentur hi*, 52. 6.

The subjunctive in indirect questions occurs seventeen times.

For a discussion of the use of the indicative in indirect questions see the dissertation of Dr. Tibbetts.

In Gregory the two moods occur indifferently, and even in the same sentence, e. g., *Mart.* 105, p. 560, *interrogant quid de tanta fecisset pecunia aut si ea eroganda temporis sui permisit spatium*.

### CAUSAL CLAUSES.

#### I. Introduced by *cum* :

##### *a*) With the indicative once.

*cum hi omnes tam excelsi sunt*, 6. 13.

##### *b*) With the subjunctive five times :

8. 10; 23. 3; 28. 36; 30. 21; 35. 25.

#### II. Introduced by *quod*, *quia*, *quoniam*.

*Quia* occurs forty-four times, *quoniam* forty times, and *quod* only five times, introducing a causal clause. The indicative is the mood employed, except in the following instances :

quoniam, sicut in euangelio scriptum est, ante sex dies paschae factum hoc fuisset in Bethania, 41. 5.  
 sabbato autem quod manducauerint, 39. 26.  
 confortans eos quoniam et tota nocte laborauerint et adhuc laboraturi sint, 45. 7. The subjunctive is here due to the implied oratio obliqua.

The subjunctive is found of the false reason as contrasted with the true, in two passages:  
 non quia impossibile esset, sed quia audieram, 27. 31.  
 non quod illi soli communicent, sed omnes communicant, 39. 19.

In 33. 18 the main clause of the verb seems to have dropped out.  
 quoniam in istis locis, excepto si martiriorum dies euenerit, semper quarta et sexta feria etiam et a cathecuminis ieiunari et ideo ad nonam in Syon proceditur.

### III. The infinitive takes the place of a causal clause in two passages.

ut quamuis durissimus possit moueri in lacrimis Dominum pro nobis tanta sustinuisse, 34. 18.  
 qui tantum ploret Dominum pro nobis ea passum fuisse, 46. 30.

### IV. Quando occurs in 55. 14, in what is perhaps a causal clause.

Episcopi autem, quando parui fuerint, hisdem diebus Ierusalima plus quadraginta aut quinquaginta sunt.

The general sense of the passage, however, seems to demand an adversative clause.

#### RESULT CLAUSES.

##### I. With the indicative.

Ecclesia ingens et ualde pulchra et noua dispositione ut uere digna est esse domus Dei, 24. 16.  
 inde sic uenitur, ut cum intratur in Astase, iam et tota lucernari sic dicuntur ymni et antiphonae, fiunt orationes et fit missa lucernaris in Astase et ad Crucem, 38. 29 ff.  
 semper tales pronuntiationes habent ut et diei et loco conueniunt, 50. 23.

##### II. Indicative and subjunctive combined.

filios Israhel sic ambulasse, ut quantum irent dextra, tantum reuerterentur sinistra: quantum denuo in ante ibant, tantum denuo retro reuertebantur, 13. 4 ff.

III. The subjunctive in a result clause is found thirty-eight times.

Ten clear instances of the indicative from Gregory are given by Bonnet (p. 680); two also of the indicative and subjunctive combined (p. 679).

PURPOSE CLAUSES.

I. Expressed by the infinitive.

unusquisque animosi uadent orare, 45. 19.  
reuer titur omnis populus resumere se, 50. 14.

II. Expressed once by the supine.

reponent se dormito (= dormitum), 34. 30.

III. The gerund or gerundive with the prepositions *ad* or *propter* is used thirteen times. Cf. *ad resumendum*, parallel to *resumere*.

IV. The subjunctive with *ut* or *ne* occurs forty-seven times.

Cf. Gregory, *Patr.*, 14. 2, p. 719, *abiit implere iussionem*.

Bonnet (p. 647) gives ten other examples of the infinitive, in one of which its subject is not that of the main verb.

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *DIGNUS*.

I. The infinitive.

qualis dignus est esse in eo loco, 7. 17.  
digna est esse domus Dei, 24. 17.  
quos dignum erat de ore illorum procedere, 29. 35.

II. A *qui*-clause.

dignus qui praesit in hoc loco, 20. 20.

SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES.

I. Consecutive *ut*-clauses with the indicative.

sic est ut portrahitur missa, 35. 16.  
consuetudo est ut omnes semel manducant, 39. 30.

Compare with these the following :

consuetudo est ut non manducant, 39. 24.  
sic est ut omnes sequantur, 53. 9.

The subjunctive in a similar substantive clause occurs twenty-seven times. In 45. 30 *consuetudo est ut acclinant se osculentur et pertranseant*, if the text is correct, *acclinant* is probably intended as a subjunctive.

- II. There are seventeen volitive or optative substantive clauses in all of which the subjunctive is employed.
- III. The following substantive clauses are introduced by *quod* :
- nisi quod hic medianus praecedebat, 8. 12.  
 nisi quod maior est Eufates, 23. 36.  
 tantum modo quod uigiliae [fiunt], 40. 16.  
 tantum quod diacones soli stant, 42. 1.  
 id solum additur quod omnes uadent,<sup>1</sup> 42. 33 ff.  
 tantum quod ymni uel antiphonae dicuntur, 51. 31.  
 iuxta quod ei fuerat reuelatum, 22. 21. Quod is here probably the relative pronoun.

## TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

The following conjunctions are employed with the mood and tense indicated :

## I. Cum :

## a) With the present indicative.

5. 7; 38. 29; 50. 35.

## b) With the future indicative.

10. 33.

## c) With the imperfect subjunctive.

5. 23; 8. 34; 18. 29; 20. 1; 25. 18. 24; 31. 33. (7)

## d) With the perfect subjunctive.

33. 20; 34. 17; 35. 7; 36. 2. 25; 37. 21; 38. 27; 40. 12. 23. 28. 33;  
 41. 18. 34; 42. 3. 18. 27. 28; 43. 1; 44. 13; 44. 27; 45. 27;  
 46. 31; 47. 2. 18; 48. 19. 33; 49. 2. 32; 50. 5. 27. 30; 51. 8. 12;  
 52. 10. 22; 53. 21; 55. 5. (37)

All of these are iterative clauses and occur in the description of the *operatio*, or ritual.

## e) With the pluperfect subjunctive.

6. 16; 7. 13; 8. 2; 9. 22; 11. 29; 13. 15; 14. 21; 16. 22; 17. 11;  
 20. 13. 16. 22; 22. 25; 24. 12; 25. 15; 26. 17; 27. 6. 13; 29. 23;  
 30. 14. 27; 31. 2. 10. 29; 41. 3. (25)

## II. Ut :

## a) With the perfect indicative.

statim ergo ut haec audiui, descendimus, 20. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Vadent is probably indicative. See p. 90.

- b) With the perfect subjunctive, iterative, in description of the ritual.

statim ut manducauerint, omnes uadent, 44. 1.

- c) With the subjunctive, meaning "until."

superabant milia tria ut perexiremus montes ipsos, 9. 6.

quando due superant ut pascha sit, 40. 13.

### III. Quando :

- a) With the indicative.

quando de eo loco primitus uidetur mons Dei, 5. 9.

quando ei dixit Deus, 9. 21 ; 10. 2.

Farao quando uidit, 14. 24.

quando Alexandriam fueram, 15. 17.

quando sanctus Iesus traiecerat, 16. 2.

quando accepit filias Laban Syri, 25. 32.

id est quando due superant, 40. 13.

id est quando unus ex discipulis ubi non erat, 48. 22.

ut sequantur scripturas quando leguntur, 53. 9.

quam quando sedet, 53. 15.

dies enceniarum appellantur quando sancta ecclesia consecrata est, 54. 28.

quando primum sanctae ecclesiae consecrabantur, 54. 34.

- b) With the subjunctive in an iterative clause.

etiam quando completae fuerint septimanae quinque, 53. 4.

- c) As a temporal adverb in an indirect question.

non legi quando in isto loco transierint, 28. 22.

### IV. Qua equivalent to quando :

- a) With the indicative.

ubi fuit sanctus Helias qua fugit, 8. 21.

his diebus qua fecerant uitulum, 10. 11.

id est qua primitus ad Egyptum fueram, 12. 23. Cf. 15. 17.

in isdem diebus qua filii Israhel pugnauerant, 19. 6.

qua ei occurrit Melchisedech, 20. 31.

qua famis fuit, 22. 8.

de hora sexta qua de Syon uenitur, 40. 9.

in mane sabbato qua oblatio fit, 40. 10.

in quinta feria qua comprehenditur Dominus, 41. 7.

alia die qua<sup>1</sup> intratur in septimana, 41. 11.

qua hoc factum est ut superius diximus, 50. 10.

<sup>1</sup> A reads quae.



excepta die sabbati qua nunquam ieiunatur, 51. 24.  
 cathecuminus autem non intrat tunc qua episcopus docet,  
 52. 35.  
 ut ea dies esset qua crux inuenta fuerat, 54. 36.

b) With the subjunctive, probably by attraction.

inuenitur quod ea dies sit qua Salomon steterit et orauerit,  
 55. 2.

In 40. 9; 41. 7. 11; 51. 24. 35. and 55. 2. quae may  
 be the relative pronoun.

V. Quemadmodum :

a) With the indicative.

singula que admodum uenimus per uallem demonstrabant,  
 9. 33.  
 cetera loca quemadmodum profecti sumus ceperunt ostendere, 10. 4.  
 quemadmodum ibamus de contra uidebamus summitatem,  
 10. 9.  
 ut quemadmodum reuertebam inde ad Mesopotamiam irem,  
 23. 21.

b) With the subjunctive in an iterative clause.

quemadmodum ingressus fuerit populus, dicet psalmum, 34. 8.  
 id est de hora lucernari quemadmodum intratum fuerit, 39. 3.  
 et quemadmodum prandiderint dominica die non manducant,  
 39. 15.  
 ut aliquemadmodum (for alii quemadmodum) manducauerint  
 dominica die non manducant, 39. 23.  
 quemadmodum enim missa facta fuerit, 50. 2.  
 quemadmodum subito (subitum) fuerit in monte, 50. 18.  
 quemadmodum missa facta fuerit, 54. 2.

In some of these examples, it is difficult to distinguish the temporal and the causal force of quemadmodum.

VI. Ubi :

a) With the indicative.

quae fuit illo tempore id est ubi occurrit Ioseph patri suo,  
 13. 24.  
 si tamen labor dici potest ubi homo desiderium compleri uidet, 19. 21.  
 ubi stat episcopus intro cancellos prendet euangelium, 34. 15.

b) With the subjunctive in an iterative clause.

Ubi ceperit lucescere, tunc incipiunt ymnos dicere, 32. 18.

Ubi perducti fuerint, lebat se episcopus, 33. 4.  
 Ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia, dicet orationem episcopus,  
 33. 10.  
 At ubi autem missa facta fuerit, 35. 4.  
 Ubi intrauerit populus, intrat episcopus, 35. 9.  
 Ubi resumpserit se populus, colligent se omnes, 36. 8.  
 at autem ubi illa perlegerit, fit oratio, 43. 6.  
 qui locus at ubi lectus fuerit, tantus rugitus est, 43. 16.  
 ante Crucem autem at ubi uentum fuerit, 45. 2.  
 at ubi autem osculati fuerint, stat diaconus, 46. 2.  
 at ubi autem sexta hora se fecerit, sic itur, 46. 8.  
 ac ubi autem missa facta fuerit, statim . . . aguntur ea,  
 46. 34.  
 Ubi cum uentum fuerit, leguntur lectiones, 51. 12.

## VII. Postquam (postea quam, postmodum quam):

### a) With the indicative.

postquam ibi perueni, 6. 26.  
 posteaquam communicaueramus, 7. 34.  
 posteaquam priores illas fregerat, 8. 3.  
 posteaquam scripserat Aggarus rex, 25. 8.  
 sed postmodumquam hii fontes eruperunt, 26. 11.  
 postea ergo quam haec retulit episcopus, 26. 15.  
 post biduo autem quam ibi feceram, duxit nos, 29. 19.

### b) With subjunctive in second person indefinite.

posteaquam descenderis, 6. 22.

### c) With subjunctive in iterative clause.

posteaquam missa facta fuerit, 42. 33; 43. 11.  
 posteaquam dicti fuerint psalmi, 48. 15.  
 post (= postquam) autem uenerint dies paschae, 54. 1.

In 23. 11 the subjunctive is due to the oratio obliqua.

quem se illuc missurum posteaquam ascendisset, Deus testatus est, 23. 11.

## VIII. Mox.

Mox is used as a conjunction, equivalent to postquam, three times with the subjunctive in an iterative clause.

Mox autem primus pullus cantauerit, statim descendet episcopus, 34. 4.

non manducant nisi sabbato mane, mox communicauerint, 39. 16.  
 ut exorcizentur, mox missa facta fuerit, 52. 30.

Cf. Vulgate, Mark 6:26: Mox audiit, noluit eam contristari. Juvenius employs this conjunction four times.

## IX. Priusquam.

There is only one instance of priusquam, where it stands within a substantive clause after retulit.

episcopus retulit eo quod Farao quando uidit quod filii Israhel dimiserant eum, tunc ille, priusquam post illos occuparet, isset cum omni exercitu, etc., 14. 24 ff.

## X. Antequam (only with the subjunctive).

ante tamen quam eum subeas, 6. 22, indefinite second person.

ante quam subeas, 6. 24, indefinite second person.

antequam perueniremus ad montem, cognoueram, 6. 25.

qui antequam videret Deum credidit ei, 24. 35.

ut antequam sit hora tertia, illuc eatur, 35. 29.

ante tamen quam lux fiat, 36. 1.

ante quam fiat missa, mittet uocem, 41. 19.

ibidem antea autem quam fiat missa mittet uocem, 43. 27.

post hoc ergo missa facta de Cruce id est antequam sol procedat, 45. 18.

The last three instances occur in iterative clauses.

## XI. Dum :

## a) Meaning "while," used four times with the indicative.

dum enim uerentur antecessus ueniunt, 33. 34.

quae praedicationes dum dicuntur grandis mora fit, 35. 3.

quoniam dum praedicant uel legent, omnia apta ipsi diei, 36. 23.

haec dum aguntur, facit se hora quinta, 38. 4.

## b) Meaning "until," once, with the subjunctive.

ubi sederant filii Israhel dum Moyses ascenderet in montem  
9. 32.

## XII. Donec :

## a) Once with the indicative.

dicuntur psalmi donec commonetur episcopus, 32. 27.

## b) Six times with the subjunctive.

donec peruenias ad radicem, 7. 1, indefinite second person.

commorati sunt donec Moyses ascenderet, 11. 1.

immorati sunt donec fieret tabernaculum, 11. 3.

quae tetigerant euntes donec peruenirent ad mare, 12. 25.

fecerunt iter donec peruenirent ad mare, 13. 7.

cepimus ire donec perueniremus, 21. 4.

## XIII. Quousque, equivalent to dum or donec.

Used once, with the subjunctive.

fecit postmodum septimana quousque ea pararentur, 30. 14.

Cf. Historia Apollonii, XXXIV.

## XIV. Quotiensque and quotienscumque.

Each occurs once with the indicative.

Nam et postmodum quotienscumque uoluerunt uenire. haec epistola prolata est. 26. 3.

Ut palatia quotiensque fabricabantur, semper in editoribus locis fierent, 26. 10.

In view of the wide range of the iterative subjunctive in the Peregrinatio, one is surprised to find both quotiens and quotienscumque with the indicative. Yet this is consistent with the general use of these conjunctions, even in quite late Latin. See O. F. Long, "On the Usage of Quotiens and Quotienscumque, in Different Periods of Latin," pp. 40 ff.

## XV. Ubicumque.

As a temporal conjunction is found only with the indicative.

ut ubicumque ad loca desiderata accedere uolebamus, ibi fieret oratio, 16. 27. Cf. 16. 31.

quae consuetudinis nobis erant facere ubicumque ad loca sancta ueniebamus, 21. 16.

Ubicumque is also used in the sense of "wherever," as the equivalent of quocumque, which is not found.

ut ubicumque uenissemus, semper ipse locus legeretur, 8. 30.

The subjunctive is here, perhaps, due to attraction. The indicative is elsewhere the mood employed.

qui dignati sunt me per monasteria sua, ubicumque ingressa sum, suscipere, 29. 34.

legitur et de apostolo siue de epistulis apostolorum uel de actionibus ubicumque de passione Domini dixerunt, 46. 15 ff.

## XVI. Temporal clauses introduced by a relative :

## a) Quod.

his diebus quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem, 5. 18.

intus autem quod ingrederis, plures sunt, 6. 10.

qui locus ad quod lectus fuerit, tantus rugitus est. 44. 29.

## b) A quo, equivalent to "since."

de eo tempore a quo ad Thebaidam fueram, 14. 33.

septimanae quinque a quo docentur, 53. 5.

dixit quoniam iam aliquot anni essent a quo non pareret columna illa, 18. 31 ff.

The subjunctive probably due to Oratio Obliqua.

cum iam tres anni essent a quo in Ierusalem uenissem, 23. 4.

The mood here may be influenced by the preceding subjunctive.

## c) In quo, meaning "while."

in quo autem ingressus fuerit, 42. 29; an iterative clause.

In Gregory post-quod is equivalent to post quam, H. F., 4. 21, p. 158; Mart., 58, p. 528. Quod is also used for ex quo, H. F., 6. 33, p. 274; Mart., 3. 23, p. 638; 4. 1, p. 649.

## ADVERSATIVE CLAUSES.

## a) With cum.

Two instances, both in the subjunctive, 6. 19; 7. 27.

## b) Quamuis occurs once, limiting the adjective of the clause.

ut quamuis durissimus possit moueri in lacrimis, 34. 18.

## c) Quamlibet occurs once with the force of quamuis.

quamlibet sero sit, tamen fit lucernare, 42. 18.

Cf. Gregory, H. F., 6. 35, p. 275; 6. 43, p. 282; Augustin, De Civitate Dei, 6. 1.

## d) Licet, with present or perfect subjunctive.

licet et tectum non sit, 8. 35.

licet semper Deo gratias agere debeam, 11. 19.

licet tamen adhuc fructus afferat, 14. 12.

episcopus licet siriste nouerit, 54. 15.

With imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in violation of the usual "sequence."

sane licet terram Gesse iam nossem, 12. 23.

et licet ea loca iam nossem, 15. 16.

et licet in patria exemplaria haberem, 26. 31.

## e) Quamquam is not used in the Peregrinatio.

## AC SI EQUIVALENT TO TAMQUAM.

## a) Introducing a subjunctive clause.

ut ita infra nos essent ac si colliculi essent, 6. 17.

ita infra nos uidebantur esse ac si colliculi essent, 8. 10.

tanti nitoris ac si de margarita esset, 24. 32.

In each case the force of the clause is that of an unreal condition.

## b) Introducing a phrase.

subis ac si per parietem, 6. 36.

colliget se omnis multitudo ac si per pascha, 33. 32.

omnia aguntur ac si per pascha, 37. 13.

In 25. 6 *ac sic* is probably a mistake, as *ac si* would seem the more natural reading.  
*quae (aqua) est ac sic fluuius ingens argenteus.*  
*Ac si* is frequent in Gregory. See Bonnet, p. 322.

## GERUND.

## a) Equivalent to a participle.

*loca sancta omnia quae filii Israhel tetigerant eundo uel redeundo, 11. 16.*

Cf. *loca quae filii Israhel tetigerant euntes, 12. 24.*  
*habens iter eundo per mansiones octo, 19. 25.*  
*sic redirent . . . dicendo psalmos, 21. 21.*  
*ubi quidem Tharso et eundo Ierusalimam iam fueram, 30. 18.*  
*provincias quas eundo transiueram, 31. 21.*

This use of the gerund is met with even in the classical period. See Livy, XXI, 46. 9.

b) Gerund with *ad* in place of supine with an adjective.

*loca sunt grata ad uidendum Christianis, 24. 27.*

The supine in *-u* does not occur in the *Peregrinatio*.

## c) Regular substantive uses of the gerund.

*fuit denuo uoluntas accedendi, 15. 28.*  
*sicut habent consuetudinem dandi, 17. 12.*  
*ut pars maxima sedendo in asellis possit subiri, 17. 26.*  
*uoluntatem eundi sed et facultatem perambulandi et reuertendi, 31. 27.*  
*iam propositi erat . . . ad Asiam accedendi, 31. 35.*

## PASSIVE PERIPHRASTIC.

The passive periphrastic is of rare occurrence, being almost entirely supplanted by the frequently recurring "*necesse est*." These two instances are found:

*uigiliae agende erant, 14. 31.*  
*aguntur quae agenda sunt, 43. 25.*

## PERIPHRASTIC FORMS.

## I. Periphrasis with a participle for the finite verb.

*castra ibi fixa habuissent, 19. 7.*  
*quam sequentes fuerunt (= secuti), 22. 23.*  
*ubi ipsi castra posita habebant, 25. 30.*  
*interpositae orationes fiunt (= interponuntur), 44. 5.*

The analytic method of forming the perfect, so characteristic of the Romance languages, is especially frequent in Gregory.

II. Periphrasis with *coepi* (*cepi*) and the infinitive.

*cepinus ascendere* = *ascendimus*, 6. 33.

*tunc cepi eos rogare* = *rogaui*, 7. 36.

So also in 8. 18; 9. 5; 10. 5; 16. 32; 18. 6; 21. 2. 4; 22. 3. 13; 32. 18; 34. 17; 35. 7; 40. 20. 23; 41. 34; 42. 3. 27; 44. 13; 46. 31; 48. 33 (twenty-two instances in all).

In 34. 17 the active of *coepi* is used with a passive infinitive, *quod cum ceperit legi*.

This periphrasis is employed with considerable freedom by Petronius. See *Lexicon Petronianum* Segebadé et Lommatzch, *sub voce* *coepi*.

III. Periphrasis with *incipio* and the infinitive.

*incipitur denuo totum iam iuxta mare ambulari*, 11. 36.

See also 32. 18; 33. 18; 36. 1; 39. 9; 44. 33; 45. 3; 55. 6.

IV. A verbal noun with *facio* for the simple verb.

*fecimus ibi mansionem* = *mansimus*, 9. 28.

Cf. *faciens denuo mansiones aliquod*, 15. 25.

*facientes aquam* = *aquantes*, 11. 33.

*facit commemorationem singulorum* = *singula commemorat*, 33. 6.

V. *Se facere* equivalent to *fieri* or *esse*.

*facit se hora quinta*, 38. 5.

*cum ceperit se hora septima facere*, 40. 23.

Cf. *cum ceperit esse hora undecima*, 42. 3. 27.

So also 41. 34; 46. 8. 32; 49. 33.

VI. *Iter facere* = *ire*.

*Et sic fecerunt ipsum iter*, 13. 7. See also 15. 7. 13. 23. 35; 22. 6. 13; 23. 1; 24. 5; 30. 16; 31. 20.

*Iter* is modified by an adjective in 12. 22.

*iter heremi arenosum ualde feceramus*.

VII. *Iter habere* = *ire*.

15. 9. 24; 19. 25; 23. 25; 30. 5.

So in the Vulgate, Luke 15:20, and elsewhere.

Somewhat analogous to the use of *facio* in the first example under IV is its use with a noun expressing duration of time: *fecimus ibi biduum*, 28. 4, "we rested there two days."

So in 27. 1; 29. 19; 30. 14; 31. 14; 39. 26. 36.

Cf. Vulgate, 2 Cor. 11:25: *noctem et diem in profundo maris feci*.

Cf. also *statua triduana facere*, 24. 19; 31. 17, with *statuam facere*, 23. 30; 30. 32.

See *Journal of Philology*, 1894, pp. 196 ff.



In this connection certain uses of *habere* should be noted.

I. *Habet* used impersonally to indicate measure of distance.

*habebat de eo loco forsitan quattuor milia*, 5. 10.

*inde habebat de ciuitate forsitan mille quingentos passus*, 30. 30.

Cf. *quae (uallis) habet forsitan milia passos forsitan sedecim*, 5. 13 ff.

II. *Habere* = *habere necesse*.

*ipsam uallem nos trauersare habebamus*, 5. 16.

*non ipsa parte exire habebamus*, 9. 7.

*perdixerit omnia quae dicere habet*, 33. 11.

Cf. *qui sanctus uir necesse habuit mouere se*, 22. 19; also 44. 24; 45. 15.

This is, perhaps, a development due to the influence of the Greek *ἐχειν*. See Ph. Thielmann, *Archiv.*, II, pp. 50-64.

III. *Libenter habere*.

*si libenter habes*, "if you are willing," 24. 26.

*quia libenter haberetis haec cognoscere*, 32. 9.

## CHAPTER V.

### STYLE AND DICTION.

#### DIMINUTIVES.

The extensive use of the diminutive in the less formal works of Roman literature and the large number of words in the Romance languages derived, not from the primitive, but from the diminutive form, naturally lead to the inference that this formation was a favorite one in the people's speech. In view of this, the number of diminutives in the *Peregrinatio* does not seem at all great. The following occur :

*aliquantulum*, 11. 34. The primitive, *aliquantus*, in 15. 27 ; 16. 1 ; 19. 16. 36 ; 23. 3 ; 24. 9. 15 ; 25. 11.

*arbusculas*, 7. 31. The primitive, *arbor*, 14. 11. 16. 17. 23.

*asellis*, 17. 27. *Asinus* is not found. The meaning of saddle in the Gallic Latin has been suggested, *Archiv.* VI. 568.

*colliculi*, 6. 18 ;<sup>1</sup> 8. 10 ; 13. 18 ; 19. 35 ; 20. 5. 24 ; *collis* only in 30. 30 ; 31. 5.

*domuncellas*, 45. 11. The primitive, *domus*, is frequent. *Domuncula* is found twice in the Vulgate.

*loculus*, 45. 24. casket or box: without diminutive force. In the Vulgate, John 13:29, it means bag.

*monticulus*, 19. 33 ; 25. 26. *Mons* is frequent.

*pomariolum*, 7. 31 : *pomarium*, 15. 8 ; 21. 5. 24. 26.

#### GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES.

The following Greek words and phrases are both transliterated and translated into Latin :

*nunc est comes, sed grandis ; quod nos dicimus uicus*, 13. 25. *Comes* stands for κώμη.

*nam ipse nobis dixit nomen ipsius arboris, quemadmodum appellant eam grece, id est dendrosa lethiae, quod nos dicimus arbor ueritatis*, 14. 15 ff.

*Dendrosa lethiae*, as the words appear in the manuscript, is intended for *dendros alethiae* and is a transliteration of δένδρος ἀληθείας.

*Quae ecclesia nunc appellatur greco sermone opumelchis*, 20. 6. *Opumelchis* stands for ὄπος Μελχίς, and illustrates the confusion of the letter *p* with the Greek ρ.

<sup>1</sup> The absence of any real diminutive force is made apparent by the addition of the adjective *permodici*.

In hodie hic hortus aliter non appellatur greco sermone nisi copos tu agiu Iohanni, id est quod uos dicitis latine hortus sancti Iohannis, 21. 10.

Copos tu agiu Iohanni represents κήπος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου.

Hora autem decima, quod appellant hic lecinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare, 32. 32. Licinicon for λυχνικόν.

respondentes semper: "kyrie eleyson": quod dicimus nos: "miserere, Domine," 33. 8. Kyrie eleyson for κύριε ἐλέησον.

The author of the Peregrinatio is hardly to be held responsible for the errors in transliterating the Greek: it seems much more natural to attribute them to the ignorance of the scribe.

#### OTHER WORDS OF GREEK ORIGIN.

absis, ἀψίς, the choir of a church.

retro in absida, 53. 24. See Gregory, H. F., 6. 10, p. 255.

\*antiphona, ἀντίφωνος, responses.

21. 22: 32. 14. 17. 27; 33. 1. 4. 36; 34. 1. 25. 26; 35. 22; 37. 7; 38. 30; 39. 6; 40. 19. 30. 35; 41. 33; 42. 2. 8. 25; 44. 4. 10; 47. 11; 48. 31; 50. 22. 34; 51. 9. 13. 30. 31; 54. 25. Found in connection with either ymni or psalmi, and always in the plural, except in 40. 30.

apostolus, ἀπόστολος, apostle.

23. 10; 44. 3; 46. 15. 16. 23; 48. 24; 50. 5. 10. 11. 26. 30; 55. 26. Also with the meaning of the Church of the Apostles: per singulas ecclesias uel apostolos, 31. 30.

\*aputactites, ἀποτακῖται, those, particularly of the sect of the Manichaeans, who abstained from meat and wine. See Code of Theodosius, XVI. title v, l. 7.

31. 2. 15; 39. 30. 33; 48. 10. 34; 49. 11; 51. 32. Perhaps also in 55. 7, where the manuscript reads actito.

archidiaconus, ἀρχιδιάκονος, archdeacon.

40. 22; 41. 20; 43. 27; 50. 12.

archiotepa, ἀρχέτυπος, with the meaning of imago.

The proper Latin form is archetypus, as in Juvenal, 2. 7; Martial, 7. 11; 12. 69. Archiotepam occurs in 24. 30, and architipa in 24. 36; 26. 13.

\*ascitis, ἀσκητής, ascetic.

monachus a prima uita et ut hic dicunt ascitis, 7. 17: monachi sancti quos hic ascites uocant, 17. 8; et illos maiores (monachos) qui in solitudine sedebant quos ascites uocant, 27. 27. See also 29. 2. 16. Used as an adjective, uir ascitis, 22. 18.

baptista, βαπτιστής, baptist.

Iohannem baptistam, 21. 9; sancti Iohannis baptistae, 21. 25.

baptizare, βαπτίζειν, to baptize.

21. 19. 20. 23. Also in form baptidiare, 47. 18; 48. 9; 52. 7. 33; 53. 34. From the same root is derived the noun baptismus, which occurs only in the oblique cases: ad baptismum, 52. 26. 29; baptismi, 53. 32; baptismo, 54. 6.

\*Words thus marked are not cited in Harper's Latin Lexicon.

basilica, βασιλική, basilica or church.

33. 33; 34. 14; 35. 8.

canon, κανών, the canon of the Holy Scriptures.

scriptura canonis, 28. 27; Gregory. H. F., 4. 26, p. 162.

cata, κατά.

See under prepositions, Chap. IV, p. 95; frequent in the Vulgate.

cathecisis, κατήχησις, religious instruction.

inchoans a Genese per illos dies quadraginta percurreret omnes scripturas, primum exponens carnaliter et sic illud soluens spiritualiter. Nec non etiam et de resurrectione similiter et de fide omnia docentur per illos dies. Hoc autem cathecisis appellatur, 53. 1 ff. Also 53. 14, 16, and in the form cathecismus, 53. 12. The accusative form is cathecisen, 53. 14.

cathecuminus, κατηχούμενος, cathecumen.

32. 22; 33. 12. 14. 15. 21; 35. 9; 36. 5; 38. 20; 42. 31; 43. 7. 18. 35; 45. 31; 47. 5; 48. 25; 49. 7; 50. 27. 32; 51. 7. 10. 14; 52. 35; 53. 31. 32. 35; 54. 6. 8.

cathedra, καθέδρα, the bishop's throne.

45. 22. 23; 46. 12; 52. 12. 13. 31; 53. 24.

christianus, χριστιανός, Christian.

23. 16; 24. 27; 28. 11.

clerici, κληρικοί, the clergy.

12. 36; 17. 20; 20. 12; 21. 21; 22. 20; 28. 10; 29. 29; 34. 11; 47. 9; 51. 34. 36; 52. 14. 30; 55. 16. Gregory. H. F., 4. 7, p. 146.

clerus, κλήρος, the clergy.

32. 19; 37. 3; 48. 9. Gregory, Mart., 3. 50, p. 644.

diaconissa, διακόνισσα, deaconess.

sancta diaconissa. 30. 36.

diaconus, διάκονος, deacon.

15. 36; 32. 16; 33. 6. 7. 10. 16; 34. 1. 10. 27; 35. 12; 42. 1; 45. 24. 28. 33; 46. 3.

ebdomadae, εβδομάδες, a week.

singuli dies singularum ebdomadarum aguntur sic, 37. 31; also 39. 12; 52. 12. Hebdomada is the form of the Vulgate.

\*ebdomadarius, a derivative for the above.

hi quos appellant ebdomadarios id est qui faciunt septimanas, 39. 13 ff.

There is also a corrupt form, domadarius: quos dicunt hic domadarios, 39. 12.

ecclesia, ἐκκλησία, church.

Naturally of frequent occurrence, one hundred and sixteen times in all.

In one passage it seems to have its earlier meaning of assembly, 16. 18:

locutus est Moyses in aures totius ecclesiae Israhel.

ecclesiasticus, ἐκκλησιαστικός, belonging to the church.

candelae ecclesiasticae, 44. 26; 50. 36.

encenia, ἐγκαίνια, feast of consecration.

This feast was celebrated yearly at the church of Jerusalem on the thirteenth of September (see Gamurrini, p. 76, note). 54. 28. 32; 55. 2. 5. 19.

\*eorte, εορτή χρόνος ἱερὸς κατὰ νόμους. Zonaras' Lexicon.

quod hic appellant eortae id est quadragesimas, 37. 30.

epiphania, ἐπιφάνεια, the Epiphany.

14. 30; 37. 11; 47. 35; 55. 21. 22.

episcopus, ἐπίσκοπος, bishop.

Of frequent occurrence, one hundred and thirty-six times in all.

\*eulogia, εὐλογία; original meaning, fine language; in the New Testament, alms; in the Peregrinatio it has the general sense of gift.

dederunt nobis presbyteri eulogias id est de pomis, 7. 26; also in 7. 35; 17. 12; 21. 24; 29. 36. In Gregory, eulogia is used of the bread and wine of the sacrament; see Bonnet, p. 223.

euangelium, εὐαγγέλιον, the gospels.

34. 15. 20; 37. 15. 33; 40. 31; 41. 3. 6; 42. 4; 43. 2. 4. 14; 44. 5. 15. 19. 29; 45. 4; 46. 17. 19. 23. 32; 47. 3. 26; 48. 20; 49. 4. 30; 50. 25; 51. 27; 52. 1.

exorcizare, ἐξορκίζειν, to exorcise.

primum a clericis exorcizentur, 52. 30.

Heremus, ἐρημος, desert.

12. 4. 5. 22. 33; 17. 18; 22. 19; 23. 8. It is a feminine noun: heremi sunt arenosae, 12. 5. Solitudo is a synonym, 27. 27. The correct form, without the aspirate, is used in the Vulgate.

idolum, εἶδωλον, idol.

furata est Rachel idola patris sui, 30. 9. See Gregory, H. F., 1. 16, p. 42.

laici, λαϊκοί, the laity.

32. 12; 34. 28; 37. 10. See Gregory, H. F., 5. 48, p. 239. Populus and plebs are synonyms; Wölfflen, Archiv, VI, 355.

manna, μάλλα (from the Hebrew), manna.

ubi eis pluit manna, 10. 28.

martyr, μάρτυρ, martyr.

sancti martyris, 27. 30; dies martyrum, 28. 7 = dies martyrii, 28. 2; also martyrorum dies, 38. 22.

martyrium, μαρτύριον, shrine of a martyr.

In this sense it is used fifty-one times. Dies martiriorum equivalent to natalis alicuius martyris, 38. 19. Martyrium is apparently a genitive plural in 27. 23, ut pridie martyrium die ibi ueniremus.

metropolis, μητρόπολις, metropolis of a province.

ciuitas Tathnis quae fuit quondam metropolis Pharaonis, 15. 15: ad provinciam quae Cilicia appellatur quae habet ciuitatem metropolim Tharso, 30. 17. Cf. also 23. 28. See Gregory, H. F., 8. 2, p. 327.

monachus, μοναχός, monk.

Occurs forty-three times. Also ex-monacho, twice as a nominative, 14. 34; 20. 18: once as an accusative, 30. 28.

monasterium, μοναστήριον, monastery.

Occurs twenty four times.

monazontes, μονάζοντες, monks.

32. 11. 16; 34. 25; 35. 6. 32; 36. 7; 37. 3. 10; 55. 9.

mysterium, μυστήριον, the supernatural element in religion.

uerbum quae sunt misterii altioris id est baptismi, 53. 31; also 53. 35; 54. 7. 11. Always written misterium.

neofitus for neophytus, *νεόφυτος*, recently baptized Christian.

tantum neofiti et fideles, 54. 7.

paralipomena, τὰ παραλειπόμενα (*βιβλία*). Book of Chronicles.

sicut scriptum est in libris paralipomenon, 55. 4.

\*parthenae, *παρθένοι*, virgins.

parthene ut hic dicunt, 32. 11.

pascha, *πάσχα* (from the Hebrew), the Passover, then Easter.

It is of the first declension, as also in Gregory. The genitive, paschae, 13. 19; 41. 6; 47. 34; 48. 28; 49. 4. 9; 54. 1. The word occurs twenty-five times in all.

paschalis, the adjective derived from pascha.

in septimana paschale, 41. 12; see also 37. 21. 25; 47. 16. 17. 31. 33; 48. 1. 8; 53. 23. 34.

patriarchi, *πατριάρχαι*, the patriarchs.

quae dicitur a patriarchis posita esse, 14. 11.

pentecoste, ἡ πεντηκοστή, the fiftieth day after Easter.

Only in the accusative case: per pentecosten, 35. 28; ad quinquagesima, id est pentecosten, 49. 10.

presbyter, *πρεσβύτερος*, presbyter or priest.

Occurs thirty-eight times.

propheta, *προφήτης*, prophet.

sanctus Helias propheta, 8. 21; 21. 30. Also of the books of the prophets in the Old Testament: legitur de prophetis, 46. 18; quicquid dixerunt prophetae, 46. 22.

prophetissa, *προφήτις*, prophetess.

Anna prophetissa, 37. 17. Formed after the analogy of *διακονίσσα*: so in the Vulgate, Isa. 8:3; Tertulian, praescript. 51.

psalmus, *ψαλμός*, psalm.

9. 3; 16. 29; 17. 20; 20. 15; 21. 15. 22; 27. 14; 29. 25; 32. 14. 26; 33. 1; 34. 8. 10. 11. 12. 21. 25; 35. 21; 36. 4; 39. 6; 40. 10. 19; 46. 14; 48. 15; 51. 13.

sabbatum, *σάββατον* (Hebrew), Sabbath.

Used in both singular and plural: 6. 28; 37. 24. 25. 27. 28. 29; 39. 4. 8. 16. 18. 25. 29; 40. 10. 20. 21; 41. 7; 47. 14. 15; 48. 6; 51. 24.

thiamataria, for thymiaterium, *θυμιατήριον*, censer.

ecce etiam thiamataria inferuntur, 34. 13. Thymiamaterium occurs in the Vulgate; thymiaterium, Ambrose, Ep. 5.

typus, *τύπος*, manner.

in eo typo quo tunc Dominus deductus est, 42. 13.

ymnus, *ὕμνος*, hymn.

Always written without the aspirate; seventy instances of its occurrence.

With the exception of the preposition *cata*, and the nouns *metropolis* and *typus*, all the words in this list are peculiar to the ecclesiastical Latin and Greek.

## ADDITIONAL WORDS PECULIAR TO ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN.

actio, Acts of the Apostles.

legitur siue de epistulis apostolorum uel de actionibus. 46. 16.

actus, Acts of the Apostles, or of a saint.

lecta omnia actus sanctae Teclae, 31. 12; de actus apostolorum, 50. 5. 25;

de actibus apostolorum, 50. 11.

altarium, altar.

The use of the singular is post-classical. 8. 25; 9. 1; 22. 29; 53. 24; 55. 3.

annuntiare: frequent in ecclesiastical Latin of the announcement of a holy day.

annuntiata pascha, 41. 4; cf. denuntiatur pascha, 41. 1.

cancellus, the railing around the altar of a church.

The singular is used in 33. 5; 43. 13; 54. 4; the plural in 32. 20. 23. 28. 30;

33. 1; 34. 15; 35. 11. 14; 43. 13; 47. 20. Both the singular and the plural

are used in the same sentence without any difference in meaning. statim

intrat episcopus et stat intra cancellos: presbyter autem ante cancellum

stat, 43. 12 ff.

canticus, the song of Moses from Deuteronomy. chap. 32.

ubi locutus est Moyses uerba cantici, 16. 18: nec non et canticus ipsius,

16. 24.

carnaliter, according to the letter.

53. 2. 8; see spiritualiter.

communicare, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

7. 24. 34; 22. 33; 39. 17. 19. 20; 43. 32.

commuio, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

communione facta, 31. 16.

competens, one who requests baptism.

adducuntur unus et unus competens. 52. 14. See Augustine, De Cura pro mortuis, c. 12.

confessor, a martyr.

cum episcopo uere sancto et monacho et confessore. 24. 8; also 24. 23; 27. 8.

dies dominica, Lord's day, Sunday.

septima die id est dominica die, 33. 31. Occurs thirty-six times.

dilectio, love of the Lord.

in Dei dilectione, 35. 2.

domina, a term of respect employed in addressing sisters in a religious order.

domine uenerabiles, 18. 27; dominae animae meae, 26. 35; dominae sorores,

53. 12; dominae sorores uenerabiles, 27. 20; dominae lumen meum, 31. 33;

32. 4.

feria (always in the singular), week day contrasted with Lord's day.

secunda feria, 38. 7. 14. 34; 42. 20. 32; 43. 10; 48. 3; tertia feria, 38. 14. 34;

42. 32. 33; 43. 10; 48. 3; quarta feria, 38. 15. 18. 20. 22. 24. 35; 43. 9; 48. 4;

49. 16. 20; 52. 4; quinta feria, 38. 33; 39. 35; 41. 7; 43. 20; 46. 7; 48. 5; 49.

19. 23; sexta feria, 38. 18. 20. 22. 34; 39. 1; 40. 9. 17; 48. 5; 49. 16; 52. 5.

fideles, the faithful, opposed to catechuminus, and applied to communicants.

et sic orant omnes tam fideles quam et catechumini simul, 33. 12; 32. 23.

30; 33. 12. 17. 22; 34. 22; 35. 9; 36. 5; 42. 31; 43. 7. 19. 35; 45. 30; 48. 26;



49. 7; 50. 28. 32; 51. 7. 10. 14; 52. 35; 53. 9. 13; 54. 4. 7. Very frequent in this meaning in the Vulgate.

fons, baptismal font.

47. 19.

fratres, brethren.

cum fratribus id est monachis, 15. 36; multi fratres sancti monachi, 21. 12; fratres nunc id est monachi, 22. 2; fratres et sorores, 54. 22.

gentes, heathen.

nullum christianum inueni sed totum gentes sunt, 28. 11. also 28. 14; regressus est sanctus Abraam de cede quod Ollagomor regis gentium, 20. 30.

hostia, sacrifice.

optulit hostias Deo puras, 20. 8. 22.

ieiunare, to fast.

(a) as an active verb: nemo ieiunat, 40. 11. 17; omnes ieiunant, 51. 22; (b) as a deponent: sabbato non ieiunantur, 37. 24; (c) used impersonally: necesse est ieiunari, 37. 29; nunquam hic sabbato ieiunatur, 37. 27; also 37. 29; 38. 20; 51. 24; 52. 29; (d) with dies as a subject: dies qui ieiunantur, 37. 30, "days which are observed by fasting." This verb occurs frequently in the Vulgate.

ieiunium, fasting.

ieiuniis lassi, 44. 24; facere integras septimanas ieiuniorum, 39. 33; talis consuetudo est ieiuniorum in quadragesimis, 39. 13. 23.

lauacrum, baptismal font — a translation of βαπτισμός.

tunc accedet ad lauacrum, 52. 23.

lectio, a reading of a passage from the Scriptures.

16. 25. 29; 17. 19; 21. 15; 36. 23; 39. 6; 40. 36; 41. 33; 42. 2. 25; 44. 4. 10; 45. 16; 46. 14. 20. 27; 49. 6; 50. 21; 51. 13; 54. 18. 25.

\*lucernare, candle light.

hora decima quod appellant hic licinicon. nam nos dicimus lucernare, 32. 32 ff.; also 35. 24; 36. 27; 38. 5. 12; 41. 9; 42. 19; 49. 14; 50. 31; 52. 3. Lucernarium is a synonym, 40. 9; 48. 17. 36; also hora lucernae, 48. 16. Lucernaris, the adjective, is also found: psalmi lucernares, 33. 1; missa lucernaris, 38. 31. 32; see also 35. 17; 39. 3.

memoria, equivalent to memoriale.

memoriae concupiscentiae, 5. 6; 11. 7; memoria illius non ostenditur, 18. 1; memoria sancti Gethe, 21. 33; memoriam Aggari, 26. 25; memoriam sancti Abrahae, 27. 28; 28. 14. 15. 29; 30. 7. Memoriale occurs only in 18. 23. Memoria is frequent in the Vulgate in the sense of altar.

ministerium, treasure or furniture of a church.

ministerium omne genus aureum gemmatum profertur, 36. 14. 16. Cf. Gregory, Conf., 22. p. 761. and elsewhere.

missa, dismissal from the church.

episcopus eos uno et uno benedicit exiens ac sic fit missa, 32. 25. Of frequent occurrence, sixty-eight times in all. Just before the dismissal of the people, mass was celebrated, and thus by association the word *missa* was used of the celebration. It is in this sense that Gregory

always employs it. Bonnet, p. 239. A slightly different account of the origin of the word "mass" is given in Fisher's Church History, p. 66.

oblatio, the celebration of mass.

missa autem ante solem fit, hoc est oblatio. ut ea hora qua incipit sol procedere ad missam in anastase facta sit. 39. 7. Gamurrini (p. 56, note) thus distinguishes oblatio and missa: "oblatio est ritus offerendi: missa dismissio populi sacris peractis." Other instances are 7. 24; 8. 28. 31; 9. 24. 29; 11. 13; 22. 32; 37. 18; 38. 26; 39. 4. 8; 40. 10. 21; 43. 2; 31; 46. 8; 47. 24. Compare the use of offerre: offeret episcopus. 40. 21; 47. 27; offertur. 49. 36; 50. 11; nunquam offeritur. 43. 33. In Gregory, oblatio is used of the wine of the sacrament. Bonnet, p. 239.

operatio, ritual.

quae operatio singulis diebus e[st] tidie in locis sanctis habeatur, 32. 7. See also 33. 29. Compare Lactantius. Institutes. 6. 12. 24.

orare, to pray.

44. 15. 16; 45. 20; 55. 3. Very common in the Vulgate.

oratio, prayer.

Of frequent occurrence, sixty-eight times in all. Also with meaning of place of prayer: monachi pomariola instituunt uel orationes. 7. 31.

passio, the sufferings of Christ.

46. 15. 16. 19. 22; 50. 9; 54. 31; 55. 25.

plebs, laymen as opposed to clerici, the clergy.

de plebe quanti uolunt. 48. 11; also 51. 31; 52. 34. Compare the use of popularis in Sulp. Sev., Dial. 1. 26. 3.

praedicare, to preach.

34. 35. 36; 36. 23; 37. 14; 38. 27; 49. 25. 35.

praedicatio, a sermon.

34. 36; 35. 2.

processio, a religious procession.

processio est in a[n]astase et omnes procedunt, 37. 12.

\*pulpitus, pulpit.

intra quam ecclesiam in eo loco ubi pulpitus est, 17. 31.

quadragesimae, Lent. See Gamurrini, p. 63, note.

37. 11. 31; 38. 11. 21. 32; 39. 10. 13. 22. 31. 34. 36; 40. 4; 42. 22; 49. 19. 23; 52. 8. 9. 11; 53. 19.

quingagesima, Pentecost.

ad quingagesima id est pentecosten. 49. 10; also 49. 27; 51. 22.

quintana pars, one of the entrances of a church.

apertis baluis maioribus quae sunt de quintana parte, 51. 5. See Isodorus, Orig. XV. c. 2.

religiosus, of the clergy.

uir religiosus ex monacho, 14. 19; uir religiosus et monachus, 24. 23. Cf. Gregory, H. F. 2. 16. p. 82.

\*responsorius, responsive.

psalmi responsorii, 39. 6.

resurrectio, the resurrection of Christ.

34. 16; 37. 33; 47. 26; 49. 31; 50. 26; 51. 28; 53. 3. 29. So the verb, ubi Dominus resurrexit, 54. 31.

sacramentum, sacrament.

aguntur sacramenta, 37. 20. Very frequent in patristic Latin. The transition from the literal meaning of the word is well illustrated by the figurative expression from Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, II. 5: *salutaris militiae sacramenta deponere*.

sanctus, saint.

Employed with very great frequency. Every character of the Old Testament mentioned is thus canonized, e. g., *sanctus Moyses*, *sanctus Aaron*, *sanctus Iacob*, *sanctus Abraam*, *sanctus Melchisedech*, *sancta Rebecca*. *Illi sancti* is almost a synonym for *monachi*. We find also *sancti monachi*, *sanctus propheta*, *sancti clerici*, *sanctus presbyter*, and even *sancto Syna*. 10. 31. *Sancta loca* refers to places mentioned in the Scriptures and may be compared to the English "Holy Land."

scripturae, Holy Scriptures.

5. 1; 11. 25; 13. 1; 14. 20. 36; 18. 26; 20. 17; 24. 6; 27. 3; 28. 17. 21; 29. 13. 18; 35. 2; 53. 1. 7. 9. 28; 55. 1. The singular occurs in 28. 27, *scriptura canonis*, and 28. 30, *scriptura testatur*. *Scripturae* is also used of portions of the Bible: *per apostolorum scripturas*, 46. 23.

seculares = saeculares, laymen.

*seculares autem tam uiri quam feminae*, 55. 12.

septimana, translation of hebdomas, a week.

30. 15; 37. 23. 24. 27; 39. 10. 14. 25. 34; 40. 8. 11. 12. 14. 16. 18; 41. 11. 12. 20; 43. 36; 47. 1; 52. 9; 53. 5. 18. 19. 20. 22. 23. 28. See Vulgate, 2 Macc. 12:31.

simbolum, a symbol received by the catechumen before baptism.

See Gamurrini, p. 74, note. 53. 6. 8. 26. 27.

sollennitas = solemnitas, a solemn festival (post-classical).

*qui tante sollennitati inter non fuerit*, 55. 17.

sorores, sisters (brethren and sisters).

*fratres et sorores*, 54. 23.

spiritualiter, according to the spirit: the opposite of carnaliter.

*primum exponens carnaliter et sic illud soluens spiritualiter*, 53. 2. 8. See Paucker, *De Latinitate Hieronymi*, p. 50; Vulgate, Apoc. 11:8; 1 Cor. 2:14.

uigiliae, to keep a vigil.

9. 28; 32. 13; 34. 27; 47. 6. 7. 8. 9. 12. 23; 49. 29; 51. 17. 26.

uigiliae, vigils.

*parati ad uigilias*, 34. 2; *uigiliae paschales*, 37. 25; 39. 1; 40. 8. 15. 17; 44. 23. 36; 47. 16. 17. 25. 29; 49. 21.

uirgines, virgins.

*monasteria aputactitum seu uirginum regebat*, 31. 2.

uirtutes, miracles.

*tales sunt ut et uirtutes faciant multas*, 28. 1. Cf. *quae mirabilia fecerint*, 29. 14. See Gregory, H. F., 5. 6. p. 198.

#### ADDITIONAL DEPARTURES FROM CLASSICAL USAGE.

acer = difficilis.

*modice erat acrius quod pedibus necesse erat subiri cum labore*, 17. 27. Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 346. *prima coitios acerruma*.

aestimare = putare.

nam nolo estimet affectio uestra, 29. 16; non aestimabam me posse uidere, 27. 33. Aestimare is used in sense of estimate in 5. 13: quantum potuimus uidentes estimare.

albescence, at dawn, luce being understood.

episcopus albescence uadet, 51. 35. Cf. Vergil, Aen., 4. 586. lux albescit.

allocutio, passage from the Bible.

omnem ipsam allocutionem perleget episcopus, 43. 5. In the Vulgate it is a translation of *παρρησις* and *παρρηθία*. Cf. Seneca, Cons. ad Helv., 1. 3.

ambulare = ire.

5. 1; 9. 9; 11. 21; 12. 1. 4. 6. 7. 9. 10. 18; 13. 5; 15. 3. 18. 22; 42. 10. Frequent in Gregory.

animal, beast of burden.

ut fluctus animalibus pedes cedat, 12. 1; descendimus de animalibus, 20. 10.

antecessus as an adverb.

antecessus ueniunt, 33. 35.

appellare = dicere.

in lato autem quattuor milia esse appellabant, 5. 15. With the meaning of call it is frequent; e. g., hoc autem cathecisis appellatur, 53. 4; qui locus appellatur Clesma, 12. 27.

\*auroclauus, with a stripe of gold.

si uela uides, auroclaua oleserica sunt, 36. 13; si cortinas uides, similiter auroclauae sunt, 36. 13.

benedicere, to bless. Always written as one word.

With a direct object: 16. 20; 22. 32; 26. 19; 27. 15; 29. 25; 32. 22. 23. 24. 30; 33. 17. 21. 22; 34. 22; 35. 13. This is the regular construction in the Vulgate. In the passive: 40. 32; 42. 30; 43. 6. 18. 34; 47. 5; 48. 25; 49. 7; 50. 27. 32; 51. 7. 9. 13; 54. 3. Benedictus, the passive participle, 35. 31; 42. 5. 9 (all three instances in a quotation from the Bible).

benedictio, benediction.

16. 24; 33. 15.

\*biduanum = biduum.

See Chap. II, p. 83.

campus (an adjective), level.

nunc campus est ita ut nec unam habitationem habeat, 14. 3. As a noun: 16. 8. 10. 22; 26. 7; 30. 3; 40. 34.

\*cansare, to turn.

ut de uia camsemus, 17. 3; cansat = flectit, Gloss. Isidorus.

candelae, candles.

candelae uitreae, 33. 26; candelae ecclesiasticae, 44. 25; 50. 36; also in 32. 34; ad candelas redire, to return at candle-light, 21. 21.

\*cereofala = candelabra. See Ducange, Gloss.

et cereofala plurima sunt, 33. 27; also 36. 16.

cicindela, a kind of lamp. See Zacarias, Onamasticon Rit.

numerus autem uel ponderatio de ceriofalis uel cicindelis aut lucernis, 36. 16. Pliny, N. H., 18. 26. 66, uses cicindela of the glow-worm.

ciuitas, city.

Of frequent occurrence, seventy-three times in all. The first appearance of this meaning in prose is in Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, 9. 9. 3. See note in Professor Abbott's edition of Cicero's Letters. Ciuitas has supplanted both urbs and oppidum in the Romance languages.

coelea.

lente et lente per girum, ut dicimus in coeleas, 6. 36. In the Vulgate, 3 Kings 6:8 per coeleam is used in the same way.

codex, a volume of the Scriptures.

lectio de codice, 16. 29; accipit codicem euangelii, 43. 2.

confortare, to comfort, to strengthen. Cf. fortis, strong.

episcopus confortans eos, 45. 7. 10. Very frequent in this meaning in the Vulgate.

consuetudinarius, customary.

consuetudinaria aguntur, 49. 13; quae consuetudinaria sunt, 49. 32. 24; 52. 2. The French coutumier. According to Geyer, *Archiv.* IV, p. 612, this adjective occurs only in the Gallic Latin.

coperculum = cooperculum, covering.

sculptum in coperculo ipsius, 22. 26. Cf. cooperculum, Apuleius, *Met.* 6. 21; Gregory, *Confess.*, 17, p. 757.

deaurare = inaurare, to gild.

loculus argenteus deauratus, 45. 25. Aureum deauratum, Gregory, *H. F.*, 2. 42, p. 105. Cf. deaurare, Vulgate, *Exod.* 25:11 and elsewhere.

deductor, guide.

See Chap. II, p. 82.

deferre, to obey.

si parentibus deferet, 52. 18.

deputare, to station.

presbyter qui ipsi ecclesie deputabatur, 7. 16 = praeficere with dative; monachos qui in ipso loco deputati sunt, 37. 3; monasterium quod est ibi deputatum, 51. 10. Cf. positum est.

desertum = heremus.

in desertum Faran, 11. 32. Cf. deserta loca, 13. 16.

desiderare, to wish for.

omnia quae desiderabamus, 6. 2; also 8. 4. 29; 11. 15; 19. 14; 24. 18; 27. 10; 28. 13; 31. 28; loca desiderata, 16. 27. 31. Cupio does not occur; opto but once, optati sumus, 17. 4.

dignare, to condescend.

nos dignati sunt suscipere, 11. 14; 17. 9; also 11. 20. 23. 27; 14. 18. 21; 15. 35; 17. 9. 12. 23; 22. 12. 32; 24. 29; 27. 9. 16. 19. 35; 28. 5; 29. 13. 33. 36; 30. 11; 31. 13. 26. 28. 33; 32. 2. 5.

dispositio, style of building.

Ecclesia autem, ibi que est, ingens et ualde pulchra et noua dispositione, ut uere digna est esse domus Dei, 24. 16. In classical Latin the word is used only of rhetorical arrangement (as in Cicero) or of military order.

diuinus, seer, prophet.

Balaam diuinum, 19. 12.

ebriacus = ebriosus.

See Chap. II, p. 83.

esca = cibus, used both in singular and plural.

concupiscentiam escarum habuerunt, 10. 25: escam portabat, 22. 8: esca haec est, 40. 4.

exemplaria, copies.

et licet exemplaria ipsarum haberem, 26. 31.

extimare = existimare, in sense of putare.

ne extimetis aliquid sine ratione fieri, 53. 33.

fabrica = aedificium.

fabricam quam uides ecclesia est, 20. 6; de ornatu fabricae ipsius, 36. 17.

fabulae, conversation (fari, to speak).

monachorum fabulas, 29. 17.

figere = ponere.

castra fixerunt, 13. 18; 16. 8; castra fixa habuissent, 19. 7: lapis fixus stat, 5. 21. In 11. 5 configere, confixus mos esset tabernaculum (text corrupt).

fortis, strong.

fortiori corpore, 11. 28; qui fortiores sunt, 47. 10. Cf. Plautus, *Miles Glor.*, 1106; Pliny, *Ep.* 1. 12. 12, and elsewhere. In the same meaning it is found in Gregory and in the Vulgate.

fumigare, to smoke.

mons fumigabat, 7. 10. Cf. Aulus Gellius, 19. 1. 3.

girare = gyrate, to surround.

et girant ciuitatem istam, 25. 11; also pergirare, 25. 20.

graece, in Greek.

greci (= grece) et siriste nouit, 54. 13; graece (grece), 54. 14. 15. 17. 19. 21.

So the adjective Graecus, speaking Greek: fratres graeci latini qui latine exponunt, 54. 23.

grandis = magnus.

5. 21; 7. 4. 11. 12. 13; 10. 8; 13. 25; 17. 30; 19. 31. 33. 34. 35; 20. 20; 21. 1; 23. 14; 28. 12. 15; 29. 22; 30. 3; 35. 3; 46. 10. It is modified by ualde in 46. 10: atrium ualde grandem. The adverb granditer (grandiiter) occurs once: qui satis grandiiter attenditur, 27. 28. Cf. Vulgate, 1 Esdr. 9:7; also Ovid, *Heroides*, 15. 30.

hospitium (ospitium) = domus.

et uadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum, 36. 6. Gregory, *Mart.*, 47, p. 520, ad hospitium cuiusdam pauperis. See Bonnet, p. 290, and *Archiv*, VIII. p. 194.

infantes, children.

ubi infantes cum ramis uel palmis occurrerunt Domino, 42. 4: also 42. 10. Cf. Juvenal, 14. 168.

infinitus = magnus.

5. 3; 6. 34; 8. 11. 14; 14. 6. 27; 16. 11; 22. 1. 16; 29. 27; 31. 12; 32. 35; 33. 10; 34. 7; 37. 9. Modified by ualde: uallis infinita erat ualde, 14. 27; by nimis: lapidem infinitum nimis, 29. 27; and by ita: cum tamen ita infiniti essent ut, 8. 11.

ingens = magnus.

5. 3. 11. 12. 17; 8. 36; 10. 12; 14. 5. 7. 8; 17. 14; 22. 1. 15; 23. 34; 24. 16. 31; 25. 7; 29. 22; 30. 4; 33. 26. It is modified by *ualde*: *ecclesia ingens ualde*, 29. 22.

In consequence of the weakening of *grandis*, *infinitus*, and *ingens*, *magnus* is almost entirely driven out. In the only instance of the use of the positive, *ingens* is added: *flumen magnum et ingens*, 23. 34. The superlative is used as an intensive form of the positive, 43. 29; 47. 11; 49. 28. *Tam magnus* is used for *tantus*; *tam magnum laborem*, 24. 25; *tam magna turba*, 44. 23; *tam magnum montem*, 44. 24.

ingredi = ascendere.

Used transitively three times: *montem ingredi*, 5. 16; *ingressi sumus montem*, 6. 28; *quos ingressi fueramus*, 9. 6. Also intransitively in sense of enter: 6. 10 and 36. 3.

latinus, one who speaks Latin.

*quicumque hic latini sunt*, 54. 21; *fratres et sorores latini*, 54. 23. *Latine*, the adverb, 54. 23; *qui latine exponunt*.

legitimus = consuetudinarius.

*aguntur omnia legitima, id est offertur iuxta consuetudinem*, 49. 36.

leuius = lentius.

*necesse est leuius iri*, 35. 33.

luce = prima luce.

*et sic fit missa iam luce*, 32. 25.

luminaria, lamps.

*luminaria pro hoc pendent*, 33. 33; see also 34. 7; 36. 3.

maledicere, to curse.

Used transitively: *ad maledicendos filios Israhel*, 19. 12.

manducare, to eat.

39. 15. 16. 23. 24. 26. 27. 29. 32; 40. 1; 41. 27; 44. 1. Always in the active. See Petronius, 56; Varro, *R. R.*, 3. 7. 9. Very frequent in the Vulgate.

mansio, station or resting-place.

*ac sic ergo fecimus ibi mansionem*, 9. 28; *inde maturantes uenimus denuo ad mansionem*, 11. 32. 34. Associated with this use of the noun is that of the verbs *manere* and *commanere*, in the sense of dwell: *illos sanctos monachos qui ibi manebant*, 17. 16; see also 18. 2; *in ipsa summitate montis mediani nullus commanet*, 7. 21; *monachi plurimi commanent ibi*, 17. 8; also 17. 22; 19. 36; 24. 20; 29. 28. In the Vulgate, *mansio* is a translation of *μονή*, a dwelling.

matutinus, of the morning; French *matin*.

*matutinos ymnos dicere*, 32. 18; *missa matutina*, 51. 36; 52. 31. Used in the Vulgate. Cf. also Seneca, *Ep.* 83. 14; Apuleius, *Met.*, 5. 17.

medianus = medius.

See Chap. II, p. 83.

mittere, to lead in the direction of.

*quod (mare) mittit Alexandriam*, 8. 14; *quod (iter) mittit de Thebaida in Pelusio*, 15. 5.



modicus = parvus.

modica nerrola est, 7. 30; et arbor permodica est, 14. 12; also 20. 28; 40. 7. The adverbs modice and modico = paulum: sedent modice, 45. 21; sedete et modico, 45. 12. See Archiv, IX. p. 515. Frequent in the Vulgate, also in Petronius, and Apuleius.

morari, to dwell.

ubi moratus est sanctus Abraam, 27. 3. So also commorari: monachi qui ibi commorabantur, 6. 30; also in 6. 33; 7. 19; 11. 18. 26; 16. 10; The translation of "to tarry" seems more appropriate in 5. 17 and 11. 1. 28. 11.

musium, mosaic.

honoravit auro, musiuo et marmore pretioso, 36. 19. Museum (Gk. *μουσεῖον*) is used by Gregory, H. F., 1. 32, p. 50.

\*nerrola = riulus.

modica nerrola est, 7. 30. Gamurrini connects the word with the Arabian nahr or the Greek *νάω*, and refers to the Gloss. Dugangii for nero = rivulus.

notor, guide.

See Chap. II, p. 82.

nullus = nemo.

nullus commanet, 7. 21; also 17. 35; 23. 16; 43. 17; 44. 36; 46. 29; 54. 11; 55. 10. Nemo is found four times: 40. 1; 46. 2; 49. 11. 17.

ostium (hostium), door.

7. 14. 35; 8. 24; 18. 9. 13. 18; 32. 10; 34. 6. 16; 35. 8; 46. 6; 48. 22; 54. 8. Ianua does not occur; baluis (ualuis) is found in 51. 4.

parere = apparere.

5. 25; 14. 4. 6; 18. 11. 12. 15; 19. 35; 21. 8; 24. 33; 26. 9. Apparere, however, is found in 5. 4; 18. 24; 22. 15. 25; 25. 36; 26. 1. Cf. Verg., Aen., 10. 176; Suetonius, Oct., 95; frequent in the Vulgate and the Digest.

pars, ex ea parte, for that reason.

ex ea parte non sentiebatur labor quia, 7. 6.

paruitas, used concretely.

meam paruitatem dignabatur suscipere, 11. 23, "my humble self." Cf. Valer. Max., praef.

parui = pauci.

episcopi quando parui fuerint, 55. 14. Cf. extra paucos clericos, 28. 10. See Bonnet, p. 276.

petrinus, rocky (not classical).

mons totus petrinus sit, 7. 27.

pisinnus, small.

ecclesia pisinna, 17. 6; a pissino nutritus in monasterio, 14. 35 (a pissinno = "from youth up"); semper pisinni plurimi stant, 33. 8. See Archiv, VIII. 480, and Appendix Probi.

\*plecare (plicare), to turn.

et sic plecaremus nos ad montem, 6. 9; plicauimus nos ad mare, 12. 12; cum iam prope plicarent ciuitati (without the reflexive), 25. 18.

pronuntiatio.

orationes tales pronuntiationes habent ut et diei et loco conueniunt.  
50. 23.

pullus, cock, used only in phrases indicating the time of day.

ante pullorum cantum, 32. 10; 33. 31; 34. 3; ad pullorum cantum.  
33. 35; de pullo primo, 37. 32; 38. 7; 42. 21; 49. 12. 28; 51. 17. 26. 27. 31.  
34; 52. 1; mox primus pullus cantauerit, 34. 5. See also 41. 13; 43. 9;  
44. 13.

rationabiles, reasonable.

semper ita apti et ita rationabiles ut ad ipsam rem pertineant quae agitur,  
35. 24. In the Vulgate, rationabilis is a translation of λογικός.

recedere = mori.

monachis siue qui iam recesserant, 29. 14. In 44. 36 used in ordinary  
meaning: nullus recedit a uigiliis usque in mane.

recessus = mors.

post recessum Moysi, 16. 14. Obitus is found in 16. 21. See Archiv, VIII,  
p. 183.

rugitus, groaning.

Always in the phrase, rugitus et mugitus, 34. 17; 43. 16; 44. 30.

sedere.

(a) To be stationed: miles ibi sedet cum tribuno suo, 24. 10; cf.  
praesidet: cum milite qui ibi nunc praesidet, 13. 10. (b) To rest, to tarry:  
ubi sederant filii Israhel dum Moyses ascenderet, 9. 32; also 21. 32; 22. 7.  
19; 27. 27. (c) In a figurative use: si aliud animo sederit, 32. 3. (d) In the  
ordinary meaning: 32. 28; 33. 3. 35; 34. 35; 41. 32. 36; 42. 1; 44. 7; 45. 11.  
21. 27; 48. 30; 50. 20. 21. 30; 52. 13. 32. 35; 53. 15.

sella.

quia prorsus nec in sella ascendi poterat, 7. 5. According to Wölfflin,  
Archiv, VI. p. 568. in the Gallic Latin, sella is not an equivalent of  
lectica, but means saddle. See also Cod. Theodos., 8. 5; 47. 1.

sera, evening.

sabbato sera, 6. 28; pridie sera, 9. 7; quia iam sera erat, 9. 23. 26; iam  
nec sera manducant, 39. 27; de sera ad sera, 40. 1; also 42. 17; 47. 12;  
48. 26; 49. 25; nocte sera, 42. 33; 43. 8. Sero, the adverb, 38. 32; 42. 18;  
47. 1. 31. Geyer, Archiv, VIII, p. 479: Spuren gallischen Lateins bei  
Marcellus Empiricus, mentions this use of sera as a peculiarity of Gallic  
Latin.

siricum for sericum, silk.

extra aurum et gemmas aut sirico, 36. 12. The adjective olesericus for  
holosericus, 36. 14.

siriste, in the Syrian language.

grece et siriste nouit, 54. 13; also 54. 16. 17. 20. 21.

solitudo, desert.

sub uoce heremus.

sorbitio, draught. Post-Augustan.

et sorbitione modica de farina, 40. 6.

specialis = proprius. Post-Augustan.

specialis autem ille mons, 6. 11; qui specialis Syna dicitur, 6. 20; 7. 2. So the adverb specialiter: haec pars specialiter orientalis appellatur, 29. 10. See also 44. 36.

strata, street.

in strata occurrit, 40. 27. Cf. Herm., Past., 1. 4; Juvenius, Evang. Hist., 1. 290.

statiua-ae = mansio. The classical form is statina-orum.

facere statiuam, 23. 31; also 24. 19; 30. 32; 31. 17.

\*subdiuanus = sanctus.

locus subdiuanus, 46. 9; see Chap. II.

\*sublinteata, with a linen cloth.

mensa sublinteata, 45. 24; see Chap. II.

sufferre = tolerare.

maximus labor suffertur, 51. 17.

summitas, summit. Post-classical.

6. 11; 7. 8. 12. 14. 21; 8. 8. 18; 10. 9; 17. 29. 30; 18. 10; 20. 5; 45. 25.

superare = superare.

superabant tria milia, 9. 6; also 40. 13; 53. 22.

superfluus, superfluous. Post-Augustan.

superfluum fuit scribi, 36. 11.

temporius = maturus.

temporius quam ceteris diebus, 43. 23. Cf. Gregory of Tours, H. F., 5. 45, p. 238.

totus = omnis.

toti illi montes, 6. 16; toto anno, 37. 34. 35; 38. 8. 10. 17. 33; 39. 32; ad unum toti, 50. 33; see also 7. 27; 25. 20; 37. 2; 38. 13. 25. 30; 39. 5. 24. 34. 36; 40. 19; 42. 7. 22; 44. 35; 45. 21; 46. 28. See Wölflin, Archiv, III, p. 470. Toti = omnes in Apuleius (frequently), in Pervigilium Veneris, vs. 18; also in the Vulgate; but it is rare in Gregory (see Bonnet, p. 276).

totum = omnino.

quattuor milia totum per ualle illa, 5. 11; see also 6. 3. 11. 36; 12. 4; 15. 6. 9; 21. 4; 25. 12.

\*tra(ns)uersare, to pass through.

ipsam uallem nos trauersare habebamus, 5. 16; also 6. 8.

\*triduanum = triduum.

facto triduano, 27. 1; also statiuam triduana, 24. 19; 31. 17. See Chap. II.

uadere = ire.

14. 13; 27. 5; 33. 20. 23; 35. 32; 36. 6; 42. 36; 44. 1; 45. 19; 49. 21; 51. 33. 35; 53. 25. This colloquial form has survived in the Romance languages.

uices, "turns."

uices habent, 32. 16.

uicibus = uicissim.

uicibus enim quotidie presbyteri et diacones uigilant, 34. 27; also 39. 6; 51. 34.

uisio, visit.

propter uisionem sanctorum illorum, 28. 5.

PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF PRONOUNS.<sup>1</sup>

## I. Ille as the definite article.

Ille is used by Gregory of Tours as the definite article almost as freely as are the forms derived from it in the modern Romance languages (see Bonnet, pp. 258 ff.). In the *Peregrinatio* a tendency in this direction is to be observed, although it is often difficult to determine whether the translation *the* or *that* is the more appropriate. A few examples are given:

ubi sex tamen montes illi inter quos ibamus aperiebant, 5. 2.

deductores sancti illi qui nobiscum erant, 5. 7.

ille [mons] medianus tanto altior est omnibus illis, 6. 15.

ad radicem propriam illius mediani que est specialis Syna, 7. 2.

sancti illi, the saints, 7. 35; cf. 8. 1. 16. 26; 9. 34; 11. 22; 17. 33; 28. 5.

In the following passages, ille may be rendered as the definite article: 6. 15. 17. 19; 7. 2. 9. 35; 8. 1. 2. 4. 13. 26; 9. 10. 30. 31. 34; 10. 1. 7. 21. 26. 28; 11. 5. 9. 10. 22; 16. 4; 17. 15. 20. 29. 33; 18. 22. 23. 34; 19. 7; 20. 16; 25. 33; 26. 26; 27. 16. 26; 28. 5. 13; 29. 3. 5. 27; 40. 29; 42. 4; 44. 28; 45. 4; 46. 4. 32; 47. 3. 26. 31; 48. 20; 49. 4. 30; 50. 5. 24. 29; 52. 9; 53. 1. 22; 54. 1; 55. 26.

In the following, it is more clearly of demonstrative force: 5. 11. 22; 6. 11. 13. 16. 18. 19; 7. 29; 8. 6. 9; 13. 23; 19. 8. 21; 20. 2; 21. 17; 25. 27; 26. 6. 10. 20. 28; 28. 14. 16. 33; 29. 9. 20. 35; 30. 11; 34. 24; 36. 10. 15; 37. 4; 40. 15; 41. 2. 29; 42. 33. 35; 43. 14; 44. 32. 36; 46. 24. 32; 52. 6; 53. 4. 10; 54. 6.

Finally, it is employed as the third personal pronoun: 6. 16. 22. 23; 8. 10; 14. 14. 25; 17. 17. 35; 18. 1; 21. 31; 22. 24; 23. 10; 28. 14. 18. 29; 29. 35; 31. 1. 3; 32. 24; 34. 21. 36; 39. 19; 40. 2. 3; 42. 11; 43. 6; 47. 4; 52. 1. 21. 36; 53. 2; 55. 16.

## II. Unus as the indefinite article.

In the following passages, unus has evidently not the force of a numeral, and may best be regarded, like its descendants in the Romance languages, as the indefinite article:

ut diceretur etiam psalmus unus pertinens ad rem, 16. 29; so in 27. 14; 29. 25; 36. 4.

dicitur unus ymnus, 42. 30; so in 43. 31; 44. 18.

<sup>1</sup> For the forms *hui* and *hisdem* see Chap. III.

## III. The uses of ipse.

Bonnet's remarks as to Gregory's use of this pronoun may well be applied to the Peregrinatio: "Ipsé est peut-être celui de tous les pronoms dont le domaine s'est le plus élargi: il empiète souvent sur idem, sur is, hic, iste ou ille" (Bonnet, p. 301).

## a) As a personal pronoun.

aut ipsi dicebant, 5. 14: ruinae ipsius infinitae parent, 14. 6: in honore ipsorum, 14. 10. See also 14. 15. 21: 16. 9: 17. 7. 11: 20. 5. 19. 20: 24. 28. 31: 25. 30: 26. 25. 31. 32: 27. 29: 28. 29: 29. 33: 30. 35: 39. 36: 40. 13: 42. 8: 54. 22.

## b) Possibly equivalent to idem.

uallis autem ipsa ingens est, 5. 12.

haec ergo uallis ipsa est in cuius capite ille locus est, 5. 22. See also 6. 8: 7. 27: 8. 26: 11. 11: 13. 21: 27. 30: 36. 27. 28: 37. 2. 4: 55. 20. The identity in meaning of ipse and idem in various periods is discussed by Meader, *The Latin Pronouns Is, Hic, Iste, Ipse*, pp. 165 ff.

## c) Equivalent to hic or is.

ipsam ergo uallem, 5. 15: totum per mediam uallem ipsam, 6. 4. 6. See also 6. 32: 7. 1. 6. 14. 26. 28: 8. 8. 18. 30: 9. 1. 2. 6. 7. 12. 18. 20. 25. 34. 35: 10. 10. 12. 15. 20. 36: 11. 7. 26: 12. 29: 13. 13. 22. 26. 29: 14. 34: 15. 32: 16. 16. 20. 23. 29. 34. 36: 17. 19. 22. 23: 18. 27. 31. 33: 19. 36: 20. 4. 11. 14. 15. 18. 24. 35: 21. 2. 8. 9. 14. 15. 19. 26. 29. 32: 22. 1. 9. 20: 23. 15. 28: 24. 15. 22: 25. 5. 7. 10. 16. 28. 29: 26. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23. 24. 29: 27. 12. 13. 27: 28. 9. 35: 29. 4. 24: 30. 2. 7: 31. 5: 35. 24: 36. 18. 24: 37. 3. 5. 9. 18. 26: 38. 13: 39. 33: 40. 30. 34. 36: 41. 33: 43. 32. 33: 44. 7. 11. 19: 45. 8: 46. 9. 36: 47. 1. 5. 29. 34: 48. 2. 7. 21: 49. 6. 12. 17: 50. 7. 22. 34: 52. 29: 54. 34: 55. 24.

Locus ipse, 9. 25 and elsewhere, means "the appropriate passage:" so also lectio ipsa, 16. 29 and frequently.

## d) As an intensive.

6. 9. 15: 7. 12. 15. 21: 13. 31: 14. 24: 16. 10: 17. 30: 18. 3. 10. 27. 28: 19. 24: 24. 9: 25. 27: 26. 12. 31: 27. 8. 12: 28. 7: 32. 2. 21: 35. 20: 43. 3: 44. 20: 46. 27: 49. 11: 50. 7. 29: 53. 32: 54. 31.

## IV. Id est and hoc est.

The use of the pronouns hic and is conforms in general closely to the classical norm. A word may be added.

however, as to the two explanatory phrases, *id est* and *hoc est*. The former is the favorite in the *Peregrinatio* and has almost entirely supplanted its rival. This is quite consistent with the history of the two formulae in the later Latin, as is shown by Meader, pp. 53 ff.

*a) Id est, explanatory.*

*ad illud caput uallis descenderemus, id est ubi rubus erat.* 5. 26; so also 6. 20; 7. 9, 12, 26, 29; 8. 7, 33; 9. 10, 31; 10. 30, 31; 11. 1, 32, 35; 12. 15, 23, 28, 30, 32; 13. 23; 14. 16; 15. 5, 17, 36; 16. 1, 34; 17. 1; 18. 7, 17, 31; 20. 8, 17; 21. 19, 24, 30; 22. 2, 6; 23. 11, 18, 28; 24. 6; 25. 4; 26. 2, 12; 27. 6, 11, 19, 22, 24; 28. 24; 29. 14; 30. 20; 31. 22, 27; 32. 28, 36; 33. 5, 31; 35. 26, 28; 36. 1, 31; 37. 32; 38. 17, 32; 39. 2, 4, 11, 24; 40. 13, 17, 25; 41. 1, 11, 17, 20, 21, 24, 29, 32, 35; 42. 20, 23; 43. 4; 45. 16, 18; 46. 10, 14; 47. 16; 48. 2, 6, 7, 14, 18, 22, 23, 28; 49. 10, 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 31, 33, 36; 50. 16, 18, 19, 29; 51. 2, 26; 52. 11, 12, 36; 53. 11, 19, 32; 54. 2, 21, 30; 55. 8, 24.

*b) Id est, introducing a translation from the Greek.*

21. 11; 37. 30; 39. 14.

*c) Id est, introducing a restrictive clause.*

*omnes monachi . . . id est qui tamen aut etate aut inbecillitate non fuerunt impediti.* 7. 20; so in 15. 28; 31. 35; 47. 10; 48. 9.

*d) Hoc est, explanatory.*

11. 9; 12. 36; 39. 8; 52. 9.

## V. Quanti equivalent to quot.

*de omnibus presbyteris quanti uolunt,* 34. 35.

*de plebe quanti uolunt,* 48. 11.

*Quot* does not occur: *quotquot* is found once only: *et quotquot sunt infantes.* 42. 9.

*Quanti* is similarly used in the Vulgate, in Hieronymus, Lactantius, and Tertullian; several times also in Gregory (see Bonnet, p. 267).

## VI. Quomodo as an indefinite adverb.

*et unusquisque quomodo stat,* 33. 13.

*ut inclinet capita sua quomodo stant,* 35. 13.

*unusquisque quomodo potest,* 50. 16.

*de plebe autem qui quomodo possunt,* 51. 33.

PECULIARITIES IN MEANING OF ADVERBS.

I. Aliquando = unquam.

ut non me putarem aliquando altiores uidisse, 8. 11.

Compare quam nunquam me puto uidisse, 6. 14.

II. Aliquandiu. for some time.

commorati sunt aliquandiu, 11. 1; also 21. 28, 29; 48. 30.

III. Forsitan = fere.

forsitan quattuor milia, 5. 11; forsitan is repeated in 5. 13 ff.

quae habet forsitan. quantum potuimus uidentes estimare aut ipsi dicebant, in longo milia passos forsitan sedecim.

Other instances: 9. 5. 15; 17. 3; 18. 33; 22. 24; 24. 2; 26. 33; 30. 31; 36. 26. 34; 40. 25. 26; 43. 26; 44. 3. 8. 31; 48. 27; 51. 3.

IV. Forte = fere.

forte ad mille passus, 28. 14; cf. 28. 29; 30. 4; ante forte quintam, 35. 4.

Forte in its usual meaning occurs once: ne forte conentur, 31. 9.

V. Iam = fere.

miliario iam sexto decimo est, 13. 30; hora iam tertia, 53. 16.

VI. Inibi = ibi.

inibi est ergo spelunca, 21. 31.

VII. Nunquid.

Nunquid may perhaps be equivalent to nunquam in 31. 3, in which case the punctuation should be changed to give the following reading: Que me cum uidisset, quod gaudium illius uel meum esse potuerit, nunquid uel scribere possum. It is interrogative in 36. 15: nunquid uel existimari aut scribi potest?

VIII. Postmodum = postea.

Twenty-five instances. See p. 121.

IX. Primitus = primum.

quando de eo loco primitus uidetur mons Dei, 5. 9; also 8. 9; 11. 5; 12. 23; 26. 27.

X. Singulariter = singuli.

singulariter interrogat episcopus uicinos, 52. 16.

XI. Tam modifying a phrase.

cum tam in proximo esset, 30. 21.



## XII. Satis and ualde are the adverbs used as intensives:

## a) Satis.

satis admirabile est, 6. 18; also 6. 29; 7. 12; 12. 31; 13. 31; 14. 19. 33; 17. 4; 18. 12; 19. 29. 31. 33; 21. 6; 22. 3; 23. 21. 33; 24. 33; 26. 28; 27. 23. 28. 31; 28. 6; 30. 4. 21; 31. 6. 8; 35. 21; 36. 32; 43. 8.

It modifies even a superlative: optimae satis, 19. 31; 21. 6.

Other uses of satis:

Equivalent to longum, tedious: quae quidem omnia singulatim scribere satis fuit, 10. 32.

Equivalent to longum: quoniam satis est usque ad ecclesia maiore, 51. 1.

## b) Valde.

5. 4. 12; 11. 12. 14; 12. 22; 14. 20. 27; 17. 9. 14. 26; 19. 10; 23. 29; 24. 16; 26. 25; 28. 16; 29. 1. 22; 30. 29; 37. 11; 46. 10; 54. 24.

It modifies infinitus in 14. 27, infinita erat ualde; and a phrase in 37. 11, ualde cum summo honore.

Valde occurs eighteen times in Cicero's Letters. See Professor Abbott, Archiv, IX, p. 462. It is also the most frequent intensive in Gregory. See Bonnet, p. 308.

## XIII. Ubi.

Ubi as a relative adverb equivalent to quo occurs one hundred and twenty-two times. In 9. 21 and 22. 28 only is it correlative with ibi. Quo,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, is employed but twice, 5. 6 and 22. 24. In the same way, ibi is used for eo one hundred and forty-two times, and has entirely driven out the latter.

Ubi for ibi in 28. 9 is merely a mistake in writing: monasteria qui ubi habebat.

## XIV. Ubique, everywhere.

candelae ubique pendent, 33. 27; consuetudo que ubique fit, 34. 34; also 35. 5; 47. 33; 48. 1.

## PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF CONJUNCTIONS.

## I. Nec non et = et.

nec non et fines Saracenorum. S. 14; also 18. 19. 21; 24. 20; 31. 30; 33. 36; 46. 17.

So in Arnobius, Adversus Gentes. IV, 35; V, 19; VI, 17. See Archiv, VIII, 181; X, 300.

<sup>1</sup> Geyer incorrectly says, "quo omnino deest."

## II. Nec non etiam et = et.

nec non etiam et omnes monachi, 7. 18; also 9. 25; 11. 16; 13. 17;  
16. 24; 23. 9; 24. 15; 31. 11; 33. 3; 48. 10; 53. 2; 54. 25.

## III. Nec non etiam = et.

nec non etiam in Lazariu, 47. 36; 52. 34; 53. 29.

## IV. Et superfluous. See Bonnet, p. 313.

## a) With sicut (sicuti).

sicut et nos fecimus, 5. 10; also 6. 6; 8. 26; 9. 29; 11. 33; 17. 28;  
21. 3. 14; 22. 22. 32; 23. 22; 25. 35; 26. 9; 29. 12; 32. 31;  
33. 24; 37. 33. 36; 38. 6. 8. 14; 40. 14; 47. 33.

## b) With nam, mainly at beginning of a sentence.

6. 31; 8. 23; 9. 1; 10. 5; 13. 8. 11. 22. 31; 14. 20. 23; 16. 4. 8;  
17. 10; 18. 22; 19. 8; 20. 28; 21. 12; 24. 7. 10. 36; 26. 3;  
28. 7; 29. 1. 36; 34. 1; 36. 12; 37. 4.

## c) Quoniam et.

7. 11; 14. 4.

## d) Etiam et.

7. 18; 10. 1. 25. 28; 11. 17; 12. 2. 3; 14. 23; 15. 34; 17. 15; 18. 6;  
27. 26. 32. 34; 38. 20; 40. 35; 50. 24; 53. 29.

## e) Licet et.

8. 35.

## f) Other instances.

7. 15; 8. 18. 27; 9. 2. 5. 22; 18. 3; 21. 13. 17. 34; 22. 24; 24. 28;  
27. 8; 28. 1. 4. 14. 29; 30. 35; 32. 1. 19; 33. 2. 10. 25; 35. 5.  
17; 37. 35; 38. 11. 30; 42. 15; 43. 34; 47. 32. 35; 50. 32; 53. 8.

## V. Non solum—sed et.

non solum Libiadam sed et Iericho, 18. 15; cf. 31. 27; 32. 12; 39.  
31; 40. 34; 55. 7.

## VI. Etiam—sed et.

dicuntur etiam psalmi sed et antiphonae, 33. 1.

## VII. Tam—quam etiam—sed et.

tam ante Anastasim quam etiam ante Crucem sed et post Crucem.  
33. 28.

## VIII. Tam—quam, equivalent to et—et.

tam uiris quam feminis, 31. 15; so also 33. 12. 23. 27; 36. 20; 40. 19;  
45. 26. 30; 46. 22; 47. 35; 48. 36; 52. 33; 55. 12.

tam ymni quam antiphonae et lectiones, 54. 24.

Tam and quam are found in regular correlation in 6. 14:  
tam excelsi quam nunquam me puto uidisse.

## IX. Tam—tam, equivalent to et—et.

tam qui nocte dicuntur, tam qui contra mature, tam etiam qui per diem, 35. 22 ff.

tam in ecclesia tam etiam in Imbomon, 48. 12.

## X. Tam—uel, equivalent to et—et.

tam de Mesopotamia uel Syria uel de Egypto aut Thebaida, 55. 8.

## XI. Uses of uel.

## a) Equivalent to et.

et pomariola instituunt uel orationes, 7. 31; presbyteris uel monachis, 8. 32; also in 12. 36; 15. 17; 18. 8; 19. 6; 21. 22; 22. 20; 26. 25; 27. 32; 29. 12; 30. 12; 31. 15, 30; 32. 15; 33. 4; 34. 26; 35. 22; 37. 17, 18; 39. 31; 40. 19; 42. 2. 4. 8; 50. 34; 51. 31; 52. 34; 53. 14; 55. 7. 21. 22.

Vel in the Church Latin is frequently used without any disjunctive force. See Rönsch, p. 345, and Bonnet, p. 315.

## b) Vel, equivalent to aut.

quaecumque desiderabamus uel quae ipsi melius nouerant, 8. 5; also 11. 17. 26; 29. 13; 31. 3; 32. 15; 36. 10. 15 ff.; 46. 16.

## c) Vel intensive.

uel maxime ea desideraueram, 8. 29; et uel tam perlustres, 25. 4.

uel una die quod biberent, 25. 34.

## d) Vel with a numeral.

candele uel ducente, 50. 36.

## e) Aut—uel, equivalent to aut—aut.

aut ad Crucem uel in Eleona, 47. 36. Cf. nec non etiam in Lazariu uel ubique, 48. 1.

## XII. Uses of nec.

## a) Equivalent to non.

ita ut nec fruticem habeat, 7. 27; quia nec retinere poterant, 10. 33; so in 11. 22; 14. 4; 17. 7; 25. 34; 28. 3. 7; 39. 27. 35. 36; 46. 12. 30; 49. 11.

## b) Equivalent to ne.

custodiatur ne quis immundus transeat, sed nec corpus eiciatur, 26. 22 ff.

XIII. Uses of *tamen*.*a)* Restrictive "at least."

ante *tamen* quam subeas. 6. 22; id est qui *tamen* aut etate aut inbecillitate non fuerunt impediti, 7. 20; so also 11. 12. 27; 13. 4; 17. 23. 26; 18. 10. 20; 19. 22; 22. 27; 25. 17. 35; 26. 14; 27. 12; 29. 13; 30. 1; 32. 12; 35. 9; 36. 24; 53. 30; 55. 18.

*b)* Equivalent to *autem* or without apparent force.

5. 2. 7; 7. 13. 33; 8. 15; 11. 13; 12. 1. 30. 33; 13. 9. 21. 29; 14. 17; 17. 2; 18. 3. 22. 35; 19. 24; 22. 27; 25. 23; 27. 33; 35. 29; 36. 2; 48. 3. In 25. 23 *tamen* is repeated: in *miliario tamen tertio* quam *tamen* custodierunt.

*Licet* and *tamen* are strangely combined: *licet tamen adhuc fructus afferat*. 14. 12; so also *cum* (concessive) and *tamen*: *cum tamen ita infiniti essent*, 8. 10.

*c)* Correlative with an adversative conjunction only in

6. 15. 21; 7. 6. 28; 8. 36; 11. 22; 12. 24; 15. 18; 26. 32; 42. 18; 54. 15.

STYLE.<sup>1</sup>

The most striking characteristics of the style of the *Peregrinatio* are its simplicity and its monotony. The sentences are for the most part short, and, when of greater length, are loosely constructed, exhibiting a marked contrast to the periodic structure of Cicero. The writer tells the story of her journey in a simple, direct manner, without attempt at rhetorical ornament, employing in the whole work not a single simile or metaphor, and nowhere departing from the matter-of-fact methods of a guide-book. She records with unquestioning faith the accounts given by her guides of the sacred places visited and the miracles there performed. Perhaps the most impressive instance of her naïveté is found in her remarks upon the preservation of the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was changed (p. 18. 25 ff.), or the unconscious humor of her account of the efforts of the monks to protect from the vandalism of relic-seekers the remains of the sacred cross (p. 45. 29 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> An interesting discussion of the style of the *Peregrinatio* is found in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1900, No. 1, p. 52.

The subject-matter, of course, renders inevitable a certain monotony of style, especially in the latter part of the work in the description of the ritual of the church at Jerusalem. Yet throughout there are instances of sentence after sentence formed in exactly the same way; and the writer has apparently made no attempt to secure variety of expression. An excellent illustration of this is found on p. 10, where successive sentences begin as follows: *Ostenderunt etiam* (10. 12); *Ostenderunt etiam* (10. 14); *Ostenderunt etiam* (10. 17); *Item ostenderunt* (10. 19); *Item ostenderunt* (10. 21); *Ostenderunt etiam* (10. 22); *Item ostenderunt* (10. 24); *Nam ostenderunt* (10. 25); *Ostenderunt etiam* (10. 28). Or, again, on p. 13, where four successive sentences begin with *nam*. The looseness of construction is well illustrated by her frequent use of *ac sic* and *et sic*; just as, in English, half-educated persons are fond of beginning their sentences or connecting clauses with "and so."

The only figures in the *Peregrinatio* are those representing the *σχήματα λέξεως*, not the *σχήματα διανοίας*. The following are noted:

### I. Tmesis.

*prode illis est = illis prodest*, 14. 14.

*qui tante sollemnitati inter non fuerit*, 55. 18.

*prode est* occurs several times in the Vulgate; also *prode fit*, Hebr. 13:17.

### II. Geminatio.

*non eos subis lente et lente*, 6. 35. *Lente et lente* also in 42. 17; 44. 25; 50. 34; 51. 3.

*signa locis et locis ponent*, 12. 6.

*denuo et ibi denuo resumere*, 12. 21.

*deducebant semper de castro ad castrum*, 12. 35.

*ille eos uno et uno benedicet*, 32. 24. *Unus et unus* also in 45. 30. 35; 52. 14; 53. 25.

See Professor Abbott, *The Use of Repetition in Latin to Secure Emphasis, Intensity, and Distinctness of Impression* (The University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. III).

## III. Anacolouthon.

The frequency of anacolouthon is consistent with what has been said above of the looseness of sentence structure in the *Peregrinatio*. The following are some of the striking instances :

In eo ergo loco cum uenitur, ut tamen commonuerunt deductores sancti illi, qui nobiscum erant, dicentes : "Consuetudo est ut fiat hic oratio ab his qui ueniunt, quando de eo loco primitus uidetur mons Dei; sicut et nos fecimus," 5. 6 ff. The sentence has no main verb.

Ac sic ergo facientes iter singulis diebus ad subito de latere sinistro, unde e contra partes Fenicis uidebamus, apparuit nobis mons ingens et altus infinitum qui tendebatur, 22. 13 ff.

Nam ecclesia, quam dixi foras ciuitatem, dominae sorores uenerabiles, ubi fuit primitus domus Abrahae, nunc et martyrium ibi positum est, id est sancti cuiusdam monachi nomine Helpidi, 27. 20 ff.

See also 6. 28 ff.; 7. 3; 8. 10 ff.; 15. 16 ff.; 19. 25 ff.; 25. 26 ff.; 32. 30; 44. 11. 23. 34; 50. 32; 54. 13 ff.

Some of the instances of the nominative absolute are doubtless to be included under this head. See Chap. IV.

## EXCURSUS.

### QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE.

The form of the quotations from the Bible might be expected to furnish some aid in the solution of the problem of the date of the *Peregrinatio*. The only conclusion, however, that one can draw from a study of them is a negative one in support of the position of Gamurrini, who fixes the date at 385-8. For did they exhibit a close resemblance to the Vulgate, it would be evident that the *Peregrinatio* could not have been written until after 383, when the first part of St. Jerome's translation was published. It will be noticed, however, that not only is the quotation in most instances not made directly from the Vulgate, but that it is also just as unlike the *Versio Antiqua* of Sabatier. On the other hand, one passage at least, while differing from both of the Latin versions, gives a literal rendering of the Septuagint, so that one is forced to the conclusion that here at least we have a translation made directly from the Greek. In other places, the author seems to be trusting to memory and exhibits great carelessness in quotation, a carelessness the more surprising in view of her frequent references to the reading of the appropriate passage from the Scriptures at each of the historic spots in the Holy Land visited by her.

A more careful study is made in the following comparison of each of the quotations in the *Peregrinatio* with the text of the Vulgate and of the *Versio Antiqua*, as given by Sabatier, *Latinae Versiones Antiquae* :

I. Per. 8. 22. Quid tu hic Helias ? 3 Kings 19:9.

Vulgata Nova. Quid hic agis, Elia ?

The *Versio Antiqua* fails us here.

II. Per. 9. 21 and 10. 2. Solue corrigiam calciamenti tui ;  
locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est. Exod. 3:5.



Vulgata Nova. Solve calceamentum<sup>1</sup> de pedibus tuis; locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est.

Versio Antiqua. Ne accesseris huc nisi solueris calciamentum de pedibus tuis; locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est.

- III. Per. 13. 35. In meliori terra Egypti colloca patrem tuum et fratres in terra Iessen, in terra Arabiae. Gen. 47:6.

Vulgata Nova. Terra Aegypti in conspectu tuo est; in optimo loco fac eos habitare et trade eis terram Gessen.

Versio Antiqua. Ecce terra Aegypti ante te est: in terra optima colloca patrem tuum et fratres tuos.

- IV. Per. 15. 30. Ascende in montem Arabot, montem Nabau, qui est in terra Moab contra faciem Iericho et uide terram Chanaan, quam ego do filiis Israhel in possessionem, et morere in monte ipso in quem ascenderis. Deut. 32:49.

Vulgata Nova. Ascende in montem istum Abarim, id est transituum, in montem Nebo qui est in terra Moab contra Iericho et uide terram Chanaan quam ego tradam filiis Israel obtinendam et morere in monte.

Versio Antiqua. Ascende in montem Abarim . . . et morere ibi. The Septuagint has *διδωμι*, corresponding to the *do* of the Peregrinatio.

- V. Per. 16. 12. Et plorauerunt filii Israhel Moysen in Arabot Moab et Iordane contra Iericho quadraginta diebus. Deut. 34:8.

Vulgata Nova. Fleueruntque eum filii Israel in campestribus Moab triginta diebus.

Versio Antiqua. Planxerunt filii Israel Moysen diebus triginta. Here the resemblance is marked to the Septuagint reading: *ἐν Ἀραβὼθ Μωὰβ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ Ἱεριχὼ*. The number of the days of mourning, however, differs also from the Greek version and is, doubtless, a mistake of memory.

- VI. Per. 27. 4. Exi de terra tua et de domo patris tui et uade in Charram. Gen. 12:1.

Vulgata Nova. Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui et ueni in terram quam monstrabo tibi.

Versio Antiqua. Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui et uade in terram quam tibi demonstraui.

<sup>1</sup> Pro *calceamentum* plures *codd.* habent *calciamentum*. Variæ Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae. Carolus Vercellone. Rome, 1860.

- VII. Per. 35. 31 and 42. 5. 9. Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini. Matt. 21:9.

The Vulgata Nova and the Versio Antiqua have the same reading.

- VIII. Per. 41. 3. Cum uenisset Iesus in Bethania ante sex dies paschae. John 12:1.

Vulgata Nova. Iesus ergo ante sex dies Paschae uenit Bethaniam.

Versio Antiqua. Iesus ergo ante sex dies Paschae uenit in Bethaniam.

- IX. Per. 43. 4. Videte ne quis uos seducat. Matt. 24:4.

Vulgata Nova. Videte ne quis uos seducat.

Versio Antiqua. Videte ne quis uos seducat ullo modo.

- X. Per. 44. 15. Et accessit quantum iactum lapidis et orauit. Luke 22:41.

Vulgata Nova. Et ipse auulsus est ab eis quantum iactus est lapidis et positis genibus orabat.

Versio Antiqua. Et ipse fecessit ab eis quasi ad iactum lapidis et positis genibus orabat.

- XI. Per. 44. 20. Vigilate ne intretis in temptationem. Matt. 26:41; Mark 14:38.

Vulgata Nova. Vigilate et orate ut<sup>1</sup> non intretis in tentationem.

Versio Antiqua. Surgite et orate ut transeat a uobis tentatio. Mark 14:38.

In Matt. 26:41 the reading is the same as that of the Vulgate.

- XII. Per. 48. 24. Non credo nisi uidero. John 20:25.

Vulgata Nova and Versio Antiqua. Nisi uidero . . . non credam.

To this list the following indirect quotations are to be added:

- I. Per. 17. 35. quoniam, sicut scriptum est, sepulchrum illius nullus hominum scit; quoniam certum est eum ab angelis fuisse sepultum. The reference is to the burial of Moses. Deut. 34:6.

Vulgata Nova. Et sepelivit eum in ualle terrae Moab contra Phogor et non cognouit homo sepulcrum eius usque in praesentem diem.

Versio Antiqua. Et sepelierunt eum in Geth prope domum Phegor et nemo scit sepulcrum eius usque in diem istum.

The Septuagint likewise has no reference to the angels.

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. have *ne* for *ut* *nom*.

- II. Per. 20. S. Hic est locus ubi optulit Melchisedech hostias Deo puras, id est panes et uinum, sicut scriptum est eum fecisse. Cf. Gen. 14:18.

Vulgata Nova. At uero Melchisedech rex Salem proferens panem et uinum.

Versio Antiqua. Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et uinum.

- III. Per. 23. 33. de quo satis bene scriptum est esse flumen magnum Eufraten et ingens et quasi terribilis est.

Vulgata Nova. Gen. 15:18 fluuium magnum Euphraten. Josh. 1:4 fluuium magnum Euphraten. Apoc. 9:14 in flumine magno Euphrate. Apoc. 16:12 flumen illud magnum Euphraten.

Versio Antiqua. Gen. 15:18 flumen magnum Euphraten. Josh. 1:4 flumen Euphratem. Apoc. 9:14 and 16:12 flumen illud magnum Euphraten.

- IV. Per. 43. 14. et legit illum locum ubi Iudas Scariothes huius ad Iudeos. definiuit quid ei darent ut traderet Dominum. Matt. 26:14, 15.

Vulgata Nova. Tunc abiit unus de duodecim qui dicebatur<sup>1</sup> Iudas Iscariotes<sup>2</sup> ad principes sacerdotum et ait illis: Quid uultis mihi dare et ego uobis eum tradam.

<sup>1</sup> Versio Antiqua, uocabatur.

<sup>2</sup> Versio Antiqua, Scariotha. Compare also Mark 14:10 and Luke 22:3, 4.

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<sup>1</sup> All references are to pages of the Study of the Latinity.

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# THE GENERAL CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF NORICUM AND RAETIA.

BY MARY BRADFORD PEAKS.

THE paper here presented was at first intended to form Chapters II and III of a "History of the Provinces of Noricum and Raetia," the material for which has been grouped as follows:

Chapter I. A General Survey.

1. The Tribal Period.
2. The Period of Government by Procurators.
3. The Period of Military Importance.
4. The Decline of Roman Authority.

Chapter II. The Governors.

Chapter III. The Army.

Chapter IV. The Finances.

Chapter V. The Roads.

Chapter VI. Local Affairs.

Chapter VII. Religion.

Chapter VIII. Industries and Products.

Chapter IX. Emigration and Immigration.

As it is hoped that the other chapters may appear later, the original form of this portion has been altered as little as possible in revising it for separate publication. Some peculiarities in the order of topics and in the cross-references are due to this fact. The time of Constantine is adopted as the lower limit in the present article.

The author's choice of subject does not indicate a belief that Noricum and Raetia formed a political or military unit;<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, the study of the two countries was pursued separately until it was discovered that together they afforded an unusually illuminating example of the way in which the Roman system was adapted to varying conditions. In what is local, social, commer-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 173, n. 7; 192, n. 4.



cial, the two adjacent provinces offer interesting contrasts; in all that has to do with the Empire and especially with their mission as guardians of the Upper Danube frontier, Noricum and Raetia were alike, and from their likeness one may gather much information when the evidence for either alone is fragmentary. The facts with regard to each province, however, have been kept separate within the different chapters and subdivisions. It is believed that this method is likely to yield a truer picture of the Roman world than is obtained when the investigation is arbitrarily limited by the boundaries of a modern state.

The extent of the author's indebtedness to the writings of Cagnat, Cichorius, Hirschfeld, Jung, Liebenam, Mommsen, Ohlen-schlager, Schiller, and others will be evident from the footnotes; among her instructors grateful acknowledgment is made especially to Professor Frank Frost Abbott, at whose suggestion this work was begun, and by whose scholarly instruction and unflinching helpfulness its execution was made possible.

#### REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

All dates are A. D. 41/54="at some date between 41 and 54, inclusive;" 41-54="from 41 to 54, inclusive."

When no ambiguity would arise, *CIL* is omitted in references to the Latin *Corpus*. D.=diploma militare (*CIL*. III).

In printing inscriptions, --- means "omitted as irrelevant," . . . means "not extant."

References in the form Noricum 1, Raetia 1 are to the lists of governors beginning p. 170 and p. 185 respectively, or in more condensed form, pp. 182, 194.

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Allen=G. H. Allen, *Centurions as Substitute Commanders of Auxiliary Corps, Roman Historical Sources and Institutions* ("Univ. of Mich. Studies," Vol. I). New York, 1904.

*Ann. Ep.*=*L'année épigraphique*. Paris, 1888-.

Arnold=H. Arnold, "Das römische Heer im bayerischen Rätien," *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns*, XIV, pp. 43-100. Munich, 1902.

*Bonn. Jahrb.*=*Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*. Bonn, 1842-.

Cagnat=R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*. Paris, 1892.

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- Eckhel=J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*. Vienna, 1792-.
- EE.*=*Ephemeris epigraphica*. Berlin, 1872-.
- Franziss=F. Franziss, *Bayern zur Römerzeit*. Regensburg, 1905.
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- Lieb. *Quaestt.*=W. Liebenam, *Quaestionum epigraphicarum de imperii Romani administratione capita selecta*. Bonn, 1882.
- Lieb. *Verw.*=W. Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*: I, *Die Legaten in den röm. Provinzen*. Leipzig, 1888.
- Marq.=J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*. Leipzig, 1881-84.
- MB.*=*Musée belge*. Paris, 1897-.
- Not. Dign.*=O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum accedunt --- laterculi provinciarum*. Berlin, 1876.
- Nowotny=E. Nowotny, "Ein norisches Militärdiplom des Traian," *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, pp. 267 ff. Vienna, 1898.

- Ohl. *Prog.*=F. Ohlenschlager, *Die röm. Truppen im rechtsrheinischen Bayern*. Programm des königl. Maximilians-Gymnasiums. Munich, 1883/84.
- Ohl. *Sitz.*=F. Ohlenschlager, "Das Regensburger röm. Militärdiplom," *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Classe d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, IV, pp. 225 ff.
- ORL.=*Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreiches*. Heidelberg, 1894-.
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- Vaschide=V. Vaschide, *Histoire de la conquête romaine de la Dacie*. Paris, 1903.
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## PART I. THE GOVERNORS.

### I. Introductory Statement.

#### PROCURATORES AND PRAEFECTI.<sup>1</sup>

*Titles.*—For a brief period after the Roman conquest, *Raetia* was in charge of a praefectus,<sup>2</sup> whose province also included Vindelicia and the Vallis Poenina, with the command of the auxiliaries of the region. From some date prior to 69 A. D.,<sup>3</sup> perhaps under Claudius,<sup>4</sup> until 167/169 A. D.<sup>5</sup> it was under a procurator Augusti provinciae Raetiae, who, following the outbreak of the Marcomannic war, was given increased power and the title procurator et pro legato;<sup>6</sup> this, however, was but a temporary expedient, pending the arrival of the legion designed for this province.

That *Noricum* was ever governed by a praefectus is less likely, because its condition when conquered was such that there was no need to fear a revolt against Roman control;<sup>7</sup> still the title of the first known procurator (procurator in Norico; under Claudius) may perhaps go back to an earlier form like praefectus civitatum in Norico.<sup>8</sup>

*Term of office.*—The list of procuratores provinciae<sup>9</sup> Noricae

<sup>1</sup> Jung, *Röm.* pp. 33 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Raetia 1.

<sup>3</sup> Raetia 2; Tac. *Hist.* i. 11: duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cōhibentur.

<sup>4</sup> Full references on this point will be given in the completed work.

<sup>5</sup> Raetia 9, 10; p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Raetia 10.

<sup>7</sup> It was exhausted by recent wars with the Boii and the Getae; see n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Noricum 1; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 425.

<sup>9</sup> Aschbach, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. (phil.-hist. Classe)*, XXXV, p. 5, followed by Mommsen, *CIL*, III, p. 588; Kämmerl, pp. 48, 55; Marq. I. 290; Sch. I. 222, and others (cf. also Zippel, pp. 275 ff.), promulgated the doctrine that Noricum during the time that it was governed by procurators was a regnum rather than a provincia. The facts are briefly as follows:

1. The country is called regnum Noricum five times during the period in question (Vell. ii. 109, 5; Suet. *Tib.* 16; *CIL*, VI. 1599; VIII. 9363; III. 11543 (Noricum 6, 20, 24)) and four times even after the arrival of an imperial legate (*CIL*, VI. 1546 (Noricum 25); III. 4800; 4797; 4828), the latest case being in 239 A.D. (III. 4800). Now, these last four instances obviously illustrate the retention in popular speech of a familiar, though no longer exact, term; one of them, VI. 1546, is shown to be colloquial in character by the use of quinquefascalis for legatus, and the other three are inscriptions of freedmen revenue officials. Why may not the same explanation apply to the five earlier cases as well? It is certainly unsafe

is unusually complete,<sup>1</sup> especially for the time of Antoninus Pius.<sup>2</sup> Since seven governors can be dated with certainty as coming within the twenty-three years of his reign, while ten or eleven more probably also belong there, the average term of office at that period was less than a year and a half.

*Duties.*<sup>3</sup>—The procurator commanded the auxiliary troops stationed in his province,<sup>4</sup> and had civil,<sup>5</sup> and, in at least one case,<sup>6</sup> criminal jurisdiction (*ius gladi*).

*Beneficiarii procuratoris Norici.*—The procurator of Noricum was assisted by one or more<sup>7</sup> beneficiarii, from twenty-three of whom<sup>8</sup> we have inscriptions, mostly dedications to I. O. M.,<sup>9</sup> ranging in date from Trajan to M. Aurelius.<sup>10</sup> The function of these officials is uncertain;<sup>11</sup> the older explanation, that they com-

to interpret strictly a mere parenthetical explanation of locality like Suet. *Tib.* 16, while Vell. ii. 109. 5 is offset by Vell. ii. 39. 3. Such a laxity in designation as has been suggested occurred also in the case of regnum Cottium (see *CIL.* V, pp. 808 f.), and can easily be paralleled today, e.g., in the use of the Colonial "shilling," which in the eastern part of the United States still lingers after more than a century.

2. Noricum is called provincia (*ἐπαρχία*) four times before M. Aurelius (Vell. ii. 39. 3; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 63; Ptol. ii. 13. 2; *CIL.* IX. 4753 (Noricum 4)). On Aschbach's theory these must be explained as inaccuracies.

3. There is no evidence that the retention of "den alten stolzen Namen Königreich" (Kämmel, p. 48; cf. Sch. I. 222) was accompanied by any greater freedom from Roman control than in the case of any other procuratorial province. Noricum was treated no better than Raetia, which had previously been neither a unified kingdom nor an ally of Rome. The comparison with the regna of Egypt and the Cottian Alps is misleading because these were under praefecti; the history of Raetia shows that government by praefecti was not the same as government by procurators, but was a preliminary stage used for communities not fully organized or trusted.

4. A partial collection of the material does not bear out the supposition that hesitation was felt in applying the term provincia to a district ruled by procurators; see, for example, Raetia 3, 5, 6, 9, 10; accident or custom seems to be the controlling factor in the name.

In view of all these considerations it seems more probable that provincia was the official designation.

<sup>1</sup> Noricum 1-24.

<sup>2</sup> Noricum 6-22 or 23.

<sup>3</sup> Lieb. *Quaest.* pp. 43 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Noricum 2, 7; Raetia 9; hence the assumption that Sextilius Felix (Noricum 3) and Ti. Iulius Aquilinus (Raetia 4) were procurators.

<sup>5</sup> Noricum 10.

<sup>6</sup> Raetia 3.

<sup>7</sup> Three cases of two (Noricum 7, 12, 16; see pp. 182 f.) and two of three (Noricum 9, 17) beneficiarii of the same procurator are recorded, but it is not known whether they served simultaneously.

<sup>8</sup> For list, see pp. 182 f.

<sup>9</sup> III. 5176 is to Epona; 11826 is an epitaph; 14362, p. 2328<sup>197</sup> is doubtful (Noricum 17, 9, 22; cf. p. 183, n. 1).

<sup>10</sup> While the province was ruled by legates, similar dedications were made by bf. cos. leg. II Ital., see pp. 200 f.

<sup>11</sup> Jung, *Dac.* pp. 177 f.; *EE.* IV, pp. 400 f.; Cagnat, p. 127; *Diz. Ep.* I. 992 ff.; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XXI. 158 ff.

manded detachments of auxiliaries, seems inapplicable here, for the completeness of the series is entirely out of proportion to the military importance of Noricum at this time;<sup>1</sup> some secretarial or other confidential duty is more probable.

*Rank.*—The procurator of *Noricum* was a centenarius.<sup>2</sup> He outranked the procurators of Sicily,<sup>3</sup> Lusitania,<sup>3,4</sup> Thrace,<sup>3</sup> Asturia and Gallaecia;<sup>5</sup> probably also those of Pontus,<sup>6</sup> Judaea,<sup>7</sup> Sardinia,<sup>7</sup> Africa;<sup>7</sup> he was of less importance than the procurator of Mauretania<sup>8</sup> or Raetia.<sup>9</sup> His relation to the procurator Pannoniae superioris and the procurator XX hereditatium is uncertain.<sup>10</sup>

The procurator of *Raetia* was probably a ducenarius;<sup>11</sup> his office was of the same grade as the procuracy of Mauretania Caesariensis;<sup>12</sup> lower than that of Belgica et utraque Germania,<sup>13</sup> or of Lugdunensis,<sup>14</sup> higher than that of Cilicia,<sup>15</sup> Lusitania,<sup>15</sup> Dacia superior,<sup>16</sup> Cappadocia,<sup>16</sup> Pontus<sup>14</sup> mediterraneus et Armenia minor et Lycaonia Antiochiana,<sup>16</sup> Noricum.<sup>9</sup> As the greater part of the inscriptions is of the time of Pius, the evidence is not sufficient to

<sup>1</sup> Liebenam, *Quaestl.* p. 46. in arguing for a military function, says: "ii beneficiarii quorum tempus definire possumus Antoninorum aetati ascribendi videntur cum in provinciis circa Danubium sitis novae neque exiguae barbarorum incursiones aut expectabantur aut factae sunt." In point of fact, however, the series begins under Trajan (Noricum 4, p. 182), i. e., before the need for increased armament was felt (p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 261, n. 1. The time of Pius is meant, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>3</sup> Noricum 4 (under Trajan).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Raetia 6; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 22. In Liebenam's table, *Beitr.* p. 35, Noricum should be above Lusitania, and therefore above Sicily and Cilicia. Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 424, n. 52, rightly objects to placing Noricum below the Alpine states.

<sup>5</sup> Noricum 6.

<sup>6</sup> Noricum 8.

<sup>7</sup> Noricum 22.

<sup>8</sup> Noricum 23; 20(?); cf. n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Noricum 23; cf. the restoration of Noricum 8.

<sup>10</sup> Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 62: "Auffällig wenigstens ist, dass die Procuraturen von Lusitanien und Noricum sowohl vor als nach der proc. XX hereditatium verwaltet werden." His authority for Noricum is evidently Noricum 20 (*Beitr.* p. 93); he does not use Noricum 4 in this connection. It is, however, not absolutely clear whether the cursus of Noricum 20 is to be taken in ascending or descending order, a difficulty which Liebenam apparently felt, for on pp. 93 and 35 (by placing Pannonia superior above Noricum) he adopts the descending order, but prefers the reverse in his table for Pannonia, p. 37 (cf. p. 23). If Mauritaniae be supplied with the last item of *CIL.* VIII. 9363 (cited p. 176), the cursus of Noricum 20 is ascending, which would fit in well with the seeming unimportance of Pannonia superior. On the other hand, in the case of Noricum 4 (under Trajan), proc. XX hereditatium precedes proc. prov. Noricae.

<sup>11</sup> Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 260, n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Raetia 6; Raetia 8 = Noricum 23; cf. Noricum 20; Lieb. *Beitr.* pp. 27, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Raetia 6; cf. Noricum 6.

<sup>14</sup> Raetia 5 = Noricum 8.

<sup>15</sup> Raetia 6; cf. Noricum 4

<sup>16</sup> Raetia 9.



show any chronological variations in the grade of Raetia during its rule by procurators, nor indeed is there any reason to suppose that such existed in the case of either Raetia or Noricum, since, after they had once been thoroughly subdued, their commercial and strategic importance must have been fairly constant until M. Aurelius.<sup>1</sup> As both stood near the head of the list of procuracies, they were in general held only by men who had previously been provincial procurators elsewhere; but, in the first century at least, this requirement was not absolute in the case of *primipili* II.<sup>2</sup>

### LEGATI PRO PRAETORE.

*Titles.*—From about 170 A. D.<sup>3</sup> until the reforms of Diocletian, Noricum and Raetia were ruled by *legati Augusti pro praetore*,<sup>4</sup> called informally *quinquefascales*<sup>5</sup> (*πεντάραβδοι*<sup>6</sup>) and *praesides*,<sup>7</sup> who were also the *legati legionis* II Italicae and legionis III Italicae respectively.<sup>8</sup>

*Rank.*—Until the middle of the third century they were *praetorii*,<sup>9</sup> sometimes *consules designati*;<sup>10</sup> later a previous legionary command, which before had been usual,<sup>11</sup> became the only requisite.<sup>12</sup> The legates of Noricum were lower in rank than those of Germany,<sup>13</sup> Hispania citerior,<sup>14</sup> Asia,<sup>14</sup> and Numidia.<sup>15</sup> The legates of Raetia were lower than those of Upper Germany and Britain,<sup>16</sup> or Pannonia inferior;<sup>17</sup> higher than those of Thrace and Moesia superior.<sup>16</sup>

*Duties.*<sup>18</sup>—The inscriptions show that the *legati* in Noricum and Raetia commanded legionary<sup>5</sup> and auxiliary<sup>19</sup> forces, took part

<sup>1</sup> Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27, and n. 2; government by a *praefectus* is an argument for rather than against the early importance of Raetia; cf. pp. 185, n. 3, 214, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Noricum 1; cf. Raetia 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 196, 205.

<sup>4</sup> Noricum 25-33; Raetia 11-22.

<sup>5</sup> Noricum 25.

<sup>6</sup> Raetia 13.

<sup>7</sup> Noricum 30, p. 179, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Raetia 11, 15; Noricum 26; hence the inclusion of Noricum 31 in a list of the provincial *legati*.

<sup>9</sup> Noricum 25-27, 31; Raetia 11, 18, 20; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 461; Jung. *Dac.* p. iv.

<sup>10</sup> Noricum 26; Raetia 11.

<sup>11</sup> Noricum 25, 26; Raetia 20.

<sup>12</sup> Raetia 21, 22.

<sup>13</sup> Noricum 25.

<sup>14</sup> Noricum 27.

<sup>15</sup> Noricum 33.

<sup>16</sup> Raetia 12.

<sup>17</sup> Raetia 20.

<sup>18</sup> Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 449 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Noricum 31; Raetia 16; cf. p. 166 and n. 4.



in active military operations,<sup>1</sup> superintended the construction of fortifications<sup>2</sup> and roads,<sup>3</sup> and shared in the worship of the imperial family<sup>4</sup> and the genius of the legions.<sup>5</sup>

### PRAESIDES AND DUCES LIMITANEI.

*Titles.*—Under Diocletian, at least as early as 290 A. D.,<sup>6</sup> the military was separated from the civil administration, the latter being intrusted to praesides provinciae Norici mediterranei,<sup>7</sup> Norici ripensis,<sup>8</sup> and Raetiae,<sup>9</sup> the former to duces limitis Raetici,<sup>10</sup> and duces limitis Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis.<sup>11</sup> In the fourth century Raetia too was divided,<sup>12</sup> and praesides Raetiae primae and Raetiae secundae are mentioned.<sup>13</sup>

*Rank.*—All the above were viri perfectissimi;<sup>14</sup> in the *Notitia dignitatum* the duces are also called viri spectabiles.<sup>10, 11</sup>

*Duces limitis Raetici.*—The mention in the historians of duces limitis Raetici as early as the middle of the third century raises a perplexing question as to the date when duces were instituted.<sup>15</sup> Was the separation of the two branches of the government a gradual one, beginning under Alexander Severus?<sup>16</sup> That is, were there occasionally, in times of extreme peril, duces as well as legati? (One may compare the Republican practice of appointing a dictator to take charge of the military duties of the two consuls.) Or did the Scriptores historiae Augustae employ the terminology of their own time for events of the previous century?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Noricum 27; Raetia 18, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Noricum 32; Raetia 14-16.

<sup>3</sup> Noricum 28; Raetia 19.

<sup>4</sup> Raetia 17.

<sup>5</sup> Noricum 26.

<sup>6</sup> Raetia 27.

<sup>7</sup> Noricum 37-39.

<sup>8</sup> No inscriptions; *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 89.

<sup>9</sup> Raetia 27-31.

<sup>10</sup> No inscriptions; at a later time called also dux Raetiae primae et secundae, *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 43; v. 139; xxxv. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Noricum 34-36; *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 40; v. 138; xxxiv. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Between 297 A. D. (*Latere. Veron.* 250. x.) and 385 A. D. (*Latere. Pol. Silv.* 255. 15 f.), cf. Sch. II. 47, n. 5; Planta, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 92 f.

<sup>14</sup> Though no evidence is available for the dux Raetiae, his rank was undoubtedly the same.

<sup>15</sup> Ohl. *Sitz.* p. 228.

<sup>16</sup> Sch. I. 773; Marq. I. 557 and n. 9; according to Arnold, *Roman System of Provincial Administration*, pp. 156 f., the change began under Aurelian.

<sup>17</sup> So Aurelius Victor, *de Caes.* 32 f. (cited p. 192) says "apud Raetias," etc., although Raetia was not divided till long after the date referred to.

The confusion would have been natural, since *dux*<sup>1</sup> (like *praeses*<sup>2</sup>) had been a loose, general term for military commander long before it acquired a technical meaning. Of these two hypotheses, the second is perhaps the more reasonable.

## II. The Governors of Noricum.

### PROCURATORES AUGUSTI PROVINCIAE NORICAE.<sup>3,4</sup>

#### 1.

Claudius

41/54

C. BAEBIUS P. F. CLA. ATTICUS<sup>5</sup>

*CIL*. V. 1838, 1839 (Iulium Carnicum): C. Baebio P. f. Cla. Attico, II vir. i. [d]., primopil. leg. V Macedonic., praef. c[i]vitatium Moesia et Treballia[e, pra]ef. [c[i]vitat. in Alpib. maritumis, t[r]. mil. coh. VIII pr., primopil. iter., procurator. Ti. Claudī Caesaris Aug. Germanici in Norico,<sup>6</sup> civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum.

<sup>1</sup> Noricum 27; other citations in Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 55 f.

<sup>2</sup> P. 179, n. 5. A new and puzzling bit of evidence is afforded by a series of milestones erected by praes(ides) p(rovinciae) P(onti), dating in 279 and 282/283 A. D. (*Am. Jour. of Arch.* IX. 328 f., nn. 76, 78, 79; X. 431 ff.; *Am. Jour. of Phil.* XXVII. 449). Does this mean that the change to praesides (in the technical sense) began before Diocletian? The whole question of duces and praesides needs to be thoroughly investigated.

<sup>3</sup> In this list and those which follow no attempt is made to attain completeness except in matters which directly concern the term of office in Noricum or Raetia.

<sup>4</sup> See Seidl, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. (phil.-hist. Classe)*, XIII, pp. 62 ff.; Marq. I. 290, n. 6; Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 72 f.

C. Antonius Rufus (III. 5117; 5122; cf. *Pros.* I. 104, n. 693; *CIL*. III. 14351<sup>29, 30, 32-34</sup>) was not proc. (prov. Noricae), but an official of the revenue and postal service; see p. 165, n. 4 and *Röm. Mitt.* VIII. pp. 195 ff., especially p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* I. 223, n. 7; Dessau, 1349. Liebenam. *Beitr.* p. 28, n. 3, says: "C. Baebius Atticus war wohl nur Verwalter der Domänen des Kaiser Claudius, denn in Noricum gab es zahlreiche kaiserliche Güter (III. 5085: *dominica rura*). Baebius war vorher nur primipilus II, während die andern Procuratoren von Noricum schon ziemlich wichtige Provinzen verwaltet hatten." It is, however, a well-established fact that the primipilate gave its possessor a decided advantage in his later career (Lieb. *Quaestt.* pp. 21 f., 33 f.; cf. also pp. 34-36, and Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 252, n. 2). Now of the undisputed procurators of Noricum there is only one who is known to have been primipilus II, namely, M. Bassaeus Rufus (Noricum 6); before his term in Noricum, he had been procurator of Asturia and Gallaecia only, the lowest in grade of all procuratorial provinces (*Beitr.* p. 30); moreover, in commenting on the later cursus of this same Bassaeus Rufus, Liebenam (*Beitr.* p. 28) says that the importance and rank of the governor of Noricum had greatly increased since the early empire (but see p. 168). There seems, then, to be no more reason, in this case than in many others, to doubt that procurator means procurator provinciae. It is not surprising that the title at this early date is expressed informally. As for the "*domnica r[ur]a*" (*sic*, cf. III. 11827), it should be borne in mind that the words occur in a fragmentary poetical epitaph of uncertain date, origin, text, and meaning.

<sup>6</sup> P. 165.

## 2.

Otho

69, spring

PETRONIUS URBICUS<sup>1</sup>

Tac. *Hist.* i. 70: ipse (=Caecina) paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum (MSS. urbi) procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur.

*CIL.* III. 11551 (Virunum): . . . . us Urbicus proc. August. . . .

## 3.

Vespasian

69, late-70

SEXTILIUS FELIX<sup>2</sup>

Tac. *Hist.* iii. 5: opposita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septimius<sup>3</sup> procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum inventute<sup>4</sup> ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus, nec his aut illis proelium temptantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.

Tac. *Hist.* iv. 70: --- Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere; accessit ala singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. praecerat Iulius Briganticus ---.<sup>5</sup>

As the commission of Petronius Urbicus (Noricum 2) would cease with the defeat and death of Otho,<sup>6</sup> Sextilius was quite possibly the procurator of Noricum under Vespasian. See p. 166 and n. 4.

## 4.

Trajan

106/117

[T. ?] PRIFERNIUS P. F. QUI. PAETUS MEMMIUS APOLLINARIS<sup>7</sup>

*CIL.* IX. 4753 (Reate): [T.] Prifernio P. f. Qui. Paeto Memmio Apollinari, IIII vir. iur. dic. quinq., mag. iu., praef. coh. III Breuc., trib. leg. X gem., praef. alae I Asturum, donis donato exped. Dac. ab Imp. Traiano hasta pura, vexillo, corona murali (probably in 102 A. D.), proc. provinc. Sicil., proc. provinc. Lusitan., proc. XX her., proc. prov. Thrac.,<sup>8</sup> proc. prov. Noricae, P. Memmius P. f. Qui. Apollinaris patri piissimo.

III. 5179 (Celeia): I. O. M. Surus, B Memmi Apoll. proc. Aug., v. s. l. m

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* III. 31, n. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 235, n. 459.

<sup>3</sup> Raetia 2.

<sup>4</sup> P. 211.

<sup>5</sup> P. 215, n. 19; Sch. I. 504.

<sup>6</sup> Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Pros.* III. 94, n. 690.

<sup>8</sup> P. 167, nn. 4, 10.

Since at least five years must have elapsed between Memmius's Dacian campaign and his term of office in Noricum, 106 A. D. is the earliest possible date for the latter: while, as Trajan was living when the inscription was cut, 117 A. D. marks the lower limit.

## 5.

Trajan or Hadrian

After 105

Q. CAECILIUS REDDITUS<sup>1</sup>

III. 5163 (Celeia): I. O. M. Antónius Maximus, **B** Q. Caecili Redditi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

D. XCVIII (105 A. D.): — cohort. I Britannicae  $\infty$  c. R., cui praest Q. Caecilius Redditus, — —.

The procuratorship, therefore, was after 105, but probably not later than Hadrian.

## 6.

Antoninus Pius

145 circ./161

M. BASSAEUS M. F. ST[EL.] RUFUS<sup>2</sup>

CIL. VI. 1599: M. Bassaeo M. f. St[el.] Rufo, pr. pr. [im]peratorum M. Aureli Antonini et [L.] Aureli Veri et L. Aureli Commodi Augg., [c]onsularibus ornamentis honorato [e]t ob victoriam Germanicam et Sarmatic. [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg. — — — donato, praef. Aegypti, praef. [ann. aut vig.], proc. a rationibus, proc. Belg[icae et du]larum Germaniarum, proc. regni [Nori]ci, proc. Asturiae et Galleciae, trib. [coh. . . ] pr., trib. coh. X urb., trib. coh. V vigul., p. p. bis, — — —.

III. 5171 (Celeia): I. O. M. . . Liciniu[s] Hilarus, [bf. M. B]assaei Rufi [proc. Aug.], v. s. l. m.<sup>2</sup>

Bassaeus Rufus was made praefectus praetorio between 161 and 169 A. D.<sup>3</sup> His procuratorship in Noricum under a single Augustus,<sup>4</sup> being prior to that date, was not later than 161. Before governing Noricum, he had filled one administrative and five military positions; still, as late as 177,<sup>5</sup> he was not too old for active military service, nor for the office of praefectus praetorio. He could scarcely therefore have served in Noricum before about 145.

<sup>1</sup> Pros. I. 252, n. 52; PW. III. 1231, n. 104; CIL. III. 14214<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Pros. I. 230, n. 57 ("ipse posuit procurator — — — III. 5171" is an error); PW. III. 103, n. 2. P. 170, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> CIL. VI. 1599; cf. IX. 2438 (about 168 A. D.)

<sup>4</sup> III. 5171.

<sup>5</sup> Commodus is called Aug. in VI. 1599; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* pp. 226 f.

## 7.

Antoninus Pius

153

ULPIUS VICTOR<sup>1</sup>

D. LXIV (153 A. D.): --- in al(is) IV et coh(ortibus) XIV [et sunt in Norico sub Ulpio Victore ---].

CIL. III. 5161 (Celeia): I. O. M. Adnamius Flavinus, **B** Ulpi Victoris proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

III. 5169 (Celeia).

Adnamius Flavinus was beneficiarius also for Usienus Secundus,<sup>2</sup> who was procurator in 158 A. D. Ulpius then belongs to this same period; hence it is probable that D. LXIV is rightly understood to refer to this command.<sup>3</sup>

## 8. (=Raetia 5)

Antoninus Pius

Probably before 155

LATIN(US) (or LATIN(IUS)) PI . . (or PL . . )<sup>4</sup>

XII. 1857 (Vienne): Latin. PI . . . [leg]ato . . . [leg.] Aug. pro pr. [prov. Lugudunens., adlecto in[ter praetor.<sup>5</sup> ab] Imp. Caes. T. Aeli[o Hadriano Antonino Aug.] Pio [p. p., . . . praef. class.] Mi[senat., proc. provinc. Lugudunens., proc. provi]nc. [R]aet[iae, proc. prov.]<sup>6</sup> Nor., pro[c. provinc.] Pon[ti, subpraef. veh]iculor.

If the restoration given is correct,<sup>7</sup> this man held office in Noricum long enough before 161 for him to fill four other positions during the life of Pius, i. e., probably not later than 155.

<sup>1</sup> Pros. III. 465, n. 578.

<sup>2</sup> Noricum 9.

<sup>3</sup> Nowotny, p. 272, argues from the large number of alae and cohortes that this fragmentary diploma refers to the auxiliaries in Raetia, not those in Noricum; the place of finding (Castra Regina) affords some slight confirmation for this view: cf. Urban, p. 19. There is, however, ground for believing that the armament of Noricum was increased between 107 and 153 (p. 211); so, for example, ala I Aug. Thracum (p. 216) was transferred from Raetia to Noricum between 107 and 140/144; there is then no difficulty in assuming a similar history for ala II Fl. p. f.  $\infty$ , especially as it is omitted in the Raetian diplomata dating later than 153 (p. 215). Ulpius Victor, moreover, is known from two other inscriptions to have been procurator of Noricum not far from 158 A. D. It is of course not impossible that afterwards (cf. p. 167) in 153 he was procurator in Raetia (cf. Noricum 8 = Raetia 5; Noricum 23 = Raetia 8).

<sup>4</sup> Pros. II. 267, n. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 245, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 165, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> The restoration proposed by Hirschfeld in the *Corpus*: --- [proc. provi]nc. [R]aet[iae et regni] Nor. ---, is faulty because it implies that Noricum and Raetia were united under one procurator, an assumption for which there is not a particle of positive evidence, and which, when one bears in mind the early history of the two provinces, their opposition in 69, (Noricum 2, 3; Raetia 2; Jung, *Röm.* p. 35), and their complete separation during and after the period of military occupation, appears extremely improbable. The rank of the two provinces, moreover, was not the same (p. 167).

## 9.

Antoninus Pius

158

USIENUS (or USENUS) SECUNDUS<sup>1</sup>

III. 5166 (Celeia): I. O. M. Q. Káninius Lucánus, **B** Usieni Secundi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m. Tertul. et Sacerd. cos. (158 A. D.)

III. 5162 (Celeia): I. O. M. Adnamius Flavinus,<sup>2</sup> **B** Useni Secundi proc. Aug., v. s. l. m.

III. 11826 (Lauriacum): Verino Verionis f., **B** Useni Secun. ---.

## 10-12.

The next three governors can be dated only approximately as having held office during the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A. D.

## 10.

CAECILIUS IUVENTIANUS<sup>3</sup>

III. 5182 (Celeia): [ . . . . bf. C]aecili . . v. entiani proc. Aug.

*Digest*, xlviii. 18. 10, pr.: de minore quattuordecim annis quaestio habenda non est, ut et divus Pius Caecilio Iuventiano rescripsit.

## 11.

L. CAMMIU[S] SECUNDI[NUS]<sup>4</sup>

*CIL*. III. 5328 (Solva): M. Gavi[o] Maxim[o] praefec[to] praetor[i]o L. Cammiu[s] Secundi[nus] p. p.,<sup>5</sup> praef. leg. X . . . , proc. Aug., amico.

Gavius Maximus was praefectus praetorio from 138 to 158.<sup>6</sup>

## 12.

C. CENSORIUS NIGER<sup>7</sup>

III. 5181 (Celeia): I. O. M. M. Ulpius Crescens, **B** C. Censori Nigri proc. Aug., v. s. l. m. Cf. III. 5174 (Celeia).

Niger, after receiving promotion from Pius, lost favor with him. He died while Pius and Gavius Maximus were still alive.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* III. 491, n. 689.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Noricum* 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros.* I. 249, n. 37; *PW.* III. 1201, n. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* I. 296, n. 304; *PW.* III. 1133. As there is no clear example of a proc. Aug. prov. Noricae (or Raetiae) who had not previously ruled another province or held the primipilate for the second time (p. 168), it is uncertain whether or not Secundinus was a provincial procurator. A similar doubt which is sometimes expressed, e. g., *Lieb. Beitr.* p. 28, n. 3, with regard to other instances of proc. Aug., seems less well grounded in the case of those who are mentioned in the long series of dedications by beneficiarii; all of these about whom we have other information (*Noricum* 4-7, 10) prove to have been governors; in the absence, therefore, of indications to the contrary, the others of similar form (*Noricum* 12-19) would naturally refer to the same officials, especially as inscriptions of other kinds of procurators are not found at Celeia.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps of legio XIII gemina, cf. *CIL*. III, p. 1045 ad n. 4660, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Script. Pius*, 8. 7; *Pros.* II. 112, n. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Pros.* I. 337, n. 547; *PW.* III. 1910, n. .

<sup>8</sup> *Fronto, ad Pium*, pp. 164 ff. (ed. Naber), especially p. 165.



## 13-21.

No evidence is known for dating Noricum 13-21. The inscriptions for Noricum 13-19, which are similar in form to the inscriptions of beneficiarii of Noricum 4-7, 9, 10, 12, and which (with the exception of 15) were found like them at Celeia, probably belong to about the same period, namely, the reign of Pius or a little earlier. The title in each case is indicated by *proc. Aug.*, hence they surely precede 161 A. D.

## 13.

C. ANTISTIUS AUSPEX<sup>1</sup>

III. 5173 (Celeia).

## 14.

DRUSIUS PROC[ULUS]<sup>2</sup>

III. 5170 (Celeia).

## 15.

EGNATIUS PRISCUS<sup>3</sup>

III. 11759 (Iuvavum).

## 16.

FLAVIUS TITIANUS<sup>4</sup>

III. 5164; 5172 (Celeia).

## 17.

Q. LISINIUS SABINUS<sup>5</sup>

III. 5167; 5168; 5175; 5176 (Celeia).

## 18.

PLAUTIUS CAESIANUS<sup>6</sup>

III. 5177 (Celeia).

## 19.

G. RASINIUS SILO<sup>7</sup>

III. 5165 (Celeia).

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* I. 85, n. 590.<sup>2</sup> Cf., perhaps, *CIL.* IX. 506; *Pros.* II. 29, n. 171.<sup>3</sup> Omitted in *Pros.* and *PW.*<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* II. 76, n. 253. Several men of the name are known, but there is not sufficient evidence to connect any of them with this procurator. The most likely is the T. Flavius Titianus (*Pros.* II. 77, n. 257), who in 164-166 A. D. was praefectus Aegypti. Cf. the cursus of M. Bassaeus Rufus (Noricum 6).<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* II. 289, n. 196.<sup>6</sup> *Pros.* III. 45, n. 349.<sup>7</sup> *Pros.* III. 125, n. 21.



## 20.

TI. CLAUD(IUS) TI. FIL. FAL. PRISCIANUS<sup>1</sup>

VIII. 9363, p. 974 (Caesarea): Ti. Cl. Prisciano, proc. Aug. proc. provinciae Pannoniae superioris, proc. regni Norici, proc.  $\overline{XX}$  hereditatium, prov. provinciae — — .

VIII. 9364 (Caesarea).

X. 3849 (Capua): Claud. Ti. fil. Fal. Priscianus proc.  $\overline{XX}$  hereditatium.

## 21.

M. PORCIUS VERUS<sup>2</sup>

III. 5317 (near Marburg): M. Porcius Verus proc. Aug. me posuit.

## 22.

M.(?) CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS<sup>3</sup>

III. 14362, p. 2328<sup>107</sup> (Virunum): G(enio) s[a]crum [bf. ? Cl]audi Paterni Clementiani proc. Aug. [cel]lam col[u]mnas p[avi]menta porticum . . . .

III. 5776 (Abudiacum, Raetia): Cl. Pater[nu]s Clement[i]a[n]us, proc. [Au]g. provincia[rum] Iud. v. a. l. Sa[r]din[ia], Africae, et . . . . , praef. eq. [alae] Silianae [torq. c. R.], trib. milit[um] leg. XI Cl[ia], praef. coh. classicae . . . .

III. 5775; 5777 (Abudiacum).

It is uncertain whether Noricum or Raetia was the province ruled by this man. The inscription from Noricum (III. 14362), however, is concerned with building operations—probably under the charge of a beneficiarius—in one of the chief cities of the province. The tituli from Raetia all come from a comparatively unimportant town and are of a private nature: III. 5777 is the epitaph of the mother<sup>4</sup> of Clementianus; 5775 and 5776 give his cursus in a form such as would be suitable to place upon a building erected through his generosity. Hence it would seem slightly more probable that the country governed by Clementianus was Noricum, while his home was in Raetia.<sup>5</sup> It is of course not sure that he was procurator of either province.

<sup>1</sup> P. 167, n. 10; *Pros.* I. 393, n. 770; PW. III. 2845, n. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 89, n. 646.

<sup>3</sup> Ohl. *Prog.* p. 24; *Pros.* I. 391, n. 756; PW. III. 2840, n. 262. Mommsen's attempted identification of this Clementianus with the Clem . . . of III. 11947 (Abusina) is impossible, that inscription is correctly said to be of the third century.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* I. 405, n. 860.

<sup>5</sup> The opposite was true of T. Varius Clemens, Raetia 6. Cf. Jung, *Röm.* p. 39 and n. 2.

If the M. Claud. Paternus,<sup>1</sup> who was a friend of T. Desticius Severus, procurator of Raetia in 166,<sup>2</sup> was the same man, the date cannot be many years earlier than 161,<sup>3</sup> the last year when proc. Aug. of III. 14362 would be possible.

## 23. (=Raetia 8)

Antoninus Pius or M. Aurelius

Before 167

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS<sup>4</sup>

IX. 4964=Dessau. 1363 (Cures): D. [M.] Sex. Bai[o Pudenti . . . .] proc. Aug. . . . . item . . . . Norici, Raetiae Vindelici[ae],<sup>5</sup> Maur[etaniae] Caesar. ---.

Baius was governor of Mauretania in 167/169, probably in 167.<sup>6</sup>

## 24.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus

161/169

[A]EL(IUS) MAXIM[US]

III. 11543 (Virunum): ---[p]roc. Augg. n[n]. r. N.

The dates given are the only ones possible for two Augusti before legati replaced procurators.

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIAE NORICAE.<sup>7</sup>

## 25.

M. Aurelius or later

After 168

. . . . .<sup>8</sup>

VI. 1546, p. 3142: . . . . [leg. Aug. pr. prov. . . . . i]tem Germ[aniae] ---, [quin]que[f]asc.<sup>9</sup> reg[ni Norici],<sup>10</sup> leg. leg. V]II Cl. [p.]f., praetor[i].

<sup>1</sup> *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1885, p. 175 (cited p. 187); *CIL*. III. 13391.

<sup>2</sup> Raetia 9.

<sup>3</sup> Jung, *Dac.* pp. 79 f.; Marq. I. 421, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* I. 225, n. 29; PW. II. 2781 f.

<sup>5</sup> It must not be assumed that Baius ruled Noricum and Raetia at the same time; see p. 173, n. 7; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> VIII. 20834; 20835; 20961; 21007.

<sup>7</sup> Marq. I. 291, n. 3; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 300 ff. For Sabi[nus], legate in 198/209, see references given under Raetia 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Pros.* III. 500, n. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Marq. I. 550 and n. 5; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 446 and n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Or reg[ionis Transpad.].

## 26.

Commodus

191

C. MEMMIUS C. F. QUIR. FIDUS IULIUS ALBIUS<sup>1</sup>

III. 15208 (Lauriacum): Genio leg. II Ital. p(iae) M. Gavius Firmus p. p. Vellin. Firmo Picen., dedicante C. Memmio Fido Iul. Albio cos. des., leg. Aug. pr. pr., XIII K. Oct. Aproniano et Bradua cos. (Sept. 18, 191)

VIII. 12442 (Vina): C. Memmio C. f. Quir. Fido Iulio Albio cons., sodali Titio, leg. Aug. pro pr. prov. Noricae, --- leg. Aug. leg. VII Claudiae, ---.

## 27.

Septimius Severus

194

TIB. CL(AUDIUS) CANDIDUS

II. 4114 (Tarraco):

Tib. Cl. Candido cos.

XV vir. s. f., leg. Augg.

pr. pr. provinc. H(ispaniae) c(iterioris),  
et in ea duci terra marique5 adversus rebelles h. h. p. p. (=hostes publicos<sup>2</sup>),

item Asiae, item Noricae,

duci exercitus Illyrici

expeditione Asiana (194 A. D.), item Parthica (195 A. D.),

item Gallica (196/197), logistae civitatis

10 splendidissimae Nicomedensium,

item Ephesiorum, leg. pr. pr. provinc.

Asiae, cur. civitatis Teanensium,

allecto inter praetorios, ---.

Candidus was probably legate of Noricum at the time when he took part in Severus's eastern expedition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* II. 363, n. 340; cf., perhaps, *IGR.* III. 368.

<sup>2</sup> On the reading in line 5, see *PW.* cited below in n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Wilmanns, *Exempla inscr. Lat.* 1201 (followed by Sch. I. 714; Dessau, 1140, and in the main by Jung, *Röm.* p. 36, n. 1; *PW.* III. 2691, n. 96) reads in lines 5 and 6: adversus rebelles H(ispaniae), h(ostes) p(opuli) R(omani), [item Asiae, item Noricae, making the last two genitives depend upon rebelles, and inferring that Noricum supported Clodius Albinus against Septimius Severus. That seems unlikely, however, in view of the fact that the legion in Noricum was honored by Severus in 193 and again before 200 (p. 197). The political sympathies of Noricum were always with Pannonia and the other Danubian provinces rather than with the West. Then, too, this construction as a parallel to Hispaniae and Asiae would require Norici, not Noricae, which is not used alone as the name of the province. The explanation given in the text is that of Liebenam, *Vere.* p. 61, who considers lines 4 and 5 parenthetical and construes item Asiae, item Noricae with legatus in line 2. Noricae is then taken closely with provinciae), thus avoiding one difficulty in the older interpretation. The cursus is descending as far as the legateship of Noricum with its accompanying extraordinary command. As the latter naturally suggests the similar purely military commands

## 28.

Septimius Severus

201

M. IUVENTIUS M. F. FAB. SURUS PROCULUS<sup>1</sup>

III. 5712; 5715; 5717; 5746; 11837 (milestones of Noricum, restored in 201 A. D.): --- curante M. Iuventio Suro Proculo leg. pr. pr. ---.

V. 4360 (Brixia): . . . M. f. Fab. Suro Proculo [III] III viro eq. Rom.

## 29.

Septimius Severus

After 205?

POLLENIUS SEBENNUS<sup>2</sup>

Dio, lxxvi. 9. 2, 3 (205 A. D. ?): --- Πολληνίῳ Σεβεννώ δίκη τιμωρὸς ἀπῆντησεν. ἐκδοθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Σαβίνου τοῖς Νωρικοῖς, ὃν ἄρξας οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐπεποιήκει, αἰσχιστα πέπονθε· --- καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀσπακα τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ φειδοῦς ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀπωλώλει οἰκτρῶς.<sup>3</sup>

CIL. III. 5537 (Iuvavum): --- b. Pollieno Aemiliano . . .

Possibly this fragmentary inscription refers to the legate mentioned by Dio.

## 30.

Caracalla

Before 215

M. MUNATIUS SULLA CERIALIS<sup>4</sup>

III. 11743 (Kugelstein): Erculi et Victoriae Aug. sacr. pro sal. et [a]dv. M. Munati Sullae Ce[r]ialis c. v., op. [pr]es.<sup>5</sup> et integ., [V]ibena Vibeni et Finitus Corbi maritus l. v. s.

Sulla Cerialis was undoubtedly legatus of Noricum; he was consul in 215 A. D.

which followed it in quick succession, these are loosely added in chronological order until the writer arrives at his starting-point, the struggle with Albinus in Gaul and Spain; finally the descending order is resumed.

*Pros.* I. 362, n. 668 strangely ignores the words item Asiae, item Noricae.

<sup>1</sup> P. 165, n. 4; *Pros.* II. 256, n. 598.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 60, n. 411. Liebenam, *Verw.* p. 283, wrongly assumes the identity of the Pollenius Sebennus in Dio and the Pollenius Auspex of the coins and acta, although the latter (*Pros.* III. 60, n. 410) is undoubtedly Dio's Ἀσπαξ (cf. Boissevain's note on Dio, *loc. cit.*) and the uncle of the legate of Noricum.

<sup>3</sup> Jung, *Röm.* p. 40; Arnold, *Röm. Prov. Admin.* pp. 118 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* II. 392, n. 538.

<sup>5</sup> Praeses at this early date is not technical (cf. *CIL.* V. 8660) and should not be given as the official title, as is done in the *Prosopographia* (see n. 4); *CIL.* III. 5216, n., commits a similar error. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II. 240 and n. 3; Lieb, *Quaestl.* pp. 54-56; *Verw.* pp. 464 f.; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 427 f.; *CIL.* III, p. 2463.

31.

Caracalla or Elagabalus

211/222

Q. HERENNII SILVII MAXIMI<sup>1</sup>

IX. 2213 (Telesia): Q. Herennio Silvio Maximo e. v., legat. leg. II Italicae et alae Antoninianae, iurid. per Calabr. Lucaniam Brittios, pr. — — —.

32.

Probably early in the 3d century

P. COSINIUS FELIX<sup>2</sup>

III. 15208<sub>1</sub> (Lauriacum; "litteris non malis"): [Imp. Caes. . . . Aug.] restitui[t cur.] P. Cosinio [Felice ? leg.] Aug. p[r. pr.].

Severus, Caracalla, and Macrinus were the most active in building and restoring roads, etc., in this region.

33.

Valerian and Gallienus

260 or before

C. MACRINIUS DECIANUS<sup>3</sup>

VIII. 2615 (Lambaesis): — — — C. Macrinus Decianus v. e., leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov. Numidiae (260 A. D.<sup>4</sup>) et Norici, — — —.

The legateship of Noricum would naturally precede.<sup>5</sup>

DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE PRIMAE ET NORICI RIPENSIS.<sup>6</sup>

34.

Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius

310

AUR(ELIUS) SENECIO

III. 5565, 11771 (Bedaium): Victoriae Augustae [sac]rum pro salutem [dd.] nn. Maximini et [Con]stantini et Licini [se]mp[er] Augg., Aur. Senecio [v. p.] dux templum numini [ei]us ex voto a novo fieri iussit per instantiam Val. Sambarrae p. p. eqq. Daln. Aquesianis comit.<sup>7</sup> l. l. m. ob victoriã factã IV K. Iulias Andronico et Probo cos. (June 28, 310)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 212, 168 and n. 8. *Pros.* II. 139, n. 94; Jung, *Dac.* p. xxiii, n. 47.

<sup>2</sup> P. Cosinius Felix was also legate of Pannonia inferior, III. 3421; *Pros.* I. 474, n. 1251; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 334. The date given by Liebenam is too early, because of the occurrence of Augg. in III. 3421.

<sup>3</sup> Sch. I. 818; *Pros.* II. 313, n. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL.* VIII. 9017.

<sup>5</sup> Lieb. *Verw.* p. 461.

<sup>6</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* i. 40; v. 138; xxxiv. 13.

<sup>7</sup> P. 214.

35.

Diocletian or later

AURE[L(IUS)] IUSTINIANUS

III. 4039 (Poetovio): templum dei sol. inv. Mit. Aure[1]. Iustinianus v. p. dux labefactatum restituit.

36.

Diocletian or later

URSICINUS

III. 4656-4658, 11350, pp. 2328<sup>42, 197</sup> (Pann. sup., Carnuntum and vicinity): p. 1059; 11853-11855, 13536, p. 2328<sup>50</sup> (Noricum, in and near Lauriacum): bricks marked temp(erante)<sup>1</sup> Ursicino v. p. duc(e) leg. II Ital. alar(um) (or pet<sup>2</sup>), or some similar form.<sup>3</sup>

PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE NORICI MEDITERRANEI.<sup>4</sup>

37.

Galerius and Maximinus Daza

311

AUR(ELIUS) HERMODORUS

III. 4796 (Virunum): D. I. M. templum vetusta(te) conlabsum quot fuit per annos amplius L desertum Aur. Hermodorus v. p., p. p. N. m. t., a novo restitui fecit. quot edificatum est divo Maximiano VIII et Maximino itr. A(u)gg. con., Quar(tinio) Ursiniano cur.

38.

Constantine

323/337

FAB(IUS) CLAUDIUS

III. 5326 (Solva): d. n. Fl. Val. Constantino Maximo beatissimo ac supra omnes retro principes piissimo et victoriosissimo semper Augusto b. r. p. n. Fab. Claudius v. p., p. p. N. m. t., d. n. m. que eius semper.

39.

Constans

337/350

MARTINIANUS

III. 5209 (Celeia): d. n. Fl. Constanti clementissimo adque victore Augusto Martinianus v. p., praeses provinciae Norici medit., d. n. m. eius.

<sup>1</sup> III, p. 2328<sup>197</sup>.<sup>2</sup> III. 4656, 11350, p. 2328<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> P. 199. Bricks of another type: of(ficina) arn. Ursicini m(a)g(istri) (III. 4668, 11375, p. 2328<sup>197</sup>) are frequent in Pannonia superior; one example, 11856 (to be restored [of. ar]n. Ursicini m(a)g.) was perhaps found in Noricum. A third variety, also from Pannonia superior, mentions legio X g(emina): 11350 e, m, p. 2328<sup>197</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Marq. I. 291, n. 4.

**Summary of the Governors of Noricum, including a List of Beneficarii  
Procuratoris.**

Emperor and Date	PROCURATORES	Beneficarii <sup>1</sup>
Claudius		
1. 41/54	C. Baebius Atticus	
Otho		
2. 69, spring	Petronius Urbicus	
Vespasian		
3. 69, late -70	Sextilius Felix	
Trajan		
4. 106/117	[T.] Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris	Surus (5179) <sup>2</sup>
Trajan or Hadrian		
5. After 105	Q. Caecilius Redditus	Antónius Maximus (5163)
Antoninus Pius		
6. 145 circ./161	M. Bassaeus Rufus	Liciniu[s] Hilarus (5171)
7. 153	Ulpius Victor	Adnamius Flavinus (5161) C. Fuscinius Catullus (5169)
8. Probably before 155	Latin. Pi . . (= Raetia 5)	
9. 158	Usienus Secundus	Adnamius Flavinus (Cf. 7) (5162) Q. Káninius Lucánus (5166) Verinus Verionis f. (11826, Lauriacum)
10.	Caecilius Iuventianus	. . . . . (5182)
11.	L. Cammiu[s] Secun- di[nus]	

<sup>1</sup> P. 166. Cauer, *EE*. IV, pp. 388 f., gives six of the nineteen beneficarii published in the part of the *Corpus* to which he had access; Liebenam, *Quaestl.* pp. 44 ff., adds one name; De Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.* I. 995, independently of him, adds two others to Cauer's collection. The recent indices to *CIL*. III for the first time give a list which is practically complete.

III. 5689; 11811, p. 2200 are fragments of inscriptions concerning beneficarii of unknown procurators.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers of the inscriptions in *CIL*. III are given in parentheses after the names of the beneficarii. Unless otherwise indicated, the stones were found at Celeia.



Emperor and Date	PROCURATORES	Beneficiarii
12. Antoninus Pius	C. Censorius Niger	L. Messius Frontinus (5174) M. Ulpius Crescens (5181)
Probably under Pius		
13.	C. Antistius Auspex	Masclinius Successus (5173)
14.	Drusius Proc[ulus]	Gemelliu[s] Adiutor (5170)
15.	Egnatius Priscus	M. Ulp. Philipp[h]us (11759, Iuvavum)
16.	Flavius Titianus	C. Anonius Valens (5164) Lucilius Finitus (5172)
17.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus	Q. Crescentius Marcel- lus (5167) T. Flavius Dubitatus (5168) C. Mustius Tettianus (5175, 5176)
18.	Plautius Caesianus	. . . conius [P]rimus (5177)
19.	G. Rasinius Silo	Augustanus (5165)
20.	Ti. Claud. Priscianus	
21.	M. Porcius Verus	
22.	M. Claudius Paternus Clementianus	. . . . . (14362, p. 2328 <sup>197</sup> , Virunum) <sup>1</sup>
Pius or Marcus		
23. Before 167	Sex. Baius Pudens (= Raetia 8)	
M. Aurelius		
24. 161/169	[A]el. Maxim[us]	
	LEGATI	
Marcus or later		
25. After 168	. . . . .	
Commodus		
26. 191	C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albis	

<sup>1</sup>Bf. may be restored with some degree of probability in this fragmentary inscription.

Emperor and Date		LEGATI
Septimius Severus		
27.	194	Tib. Cl. Candidus
28.	201	M. Iuventius Surus Proculus
29.	After 205	Pollenius Sebennus
Caracalla		
30.	Before 215	M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis
Caracalla or Elagabalus		
31.	211/222	Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus
Uncertain		
32.	Probably early in the 3d century	P. Cosinius Felix
Valerian and Gallienus		
33.	260 or before	C. Macrinus Decianus
DUCES LIMITIS PANNONIAE I ET NORICI RIPENSIS		
Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius		
34.	310	Aur. Senecio
Diocletian or later		
35.		Aure[1]. Iustinianus
36.		Ursicinus
PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE NORICI MEDITERRANEI		
Galerius and Maximinus Daza		
37.	311	Aur. Hermodorus
Constantine		
38.	323/337	Fab. Claudius
Constans		
39.	337/350	Martinianus

## III. The Governors of Raetia.

PRAEFECTUS RAETIS VINDOLICIS VALLIS POENINAE.<sup>1</sup>

## 1.

Augustus or Tiberius

Before 19

[S]EX. PEDIUS SEX. F. AN. LUSIANUS HIRRUTUS<sup>2</sup>

IX. 3044 (Interpromium): [S]ex. Pedio Sex. f. An. Lusiano Hirruto, prim. pil. leg. XXI, pra[ef].<sup>3</sup> Raetis Vindolicis valli[s P]oeninae et levis armatur., **HH** vir. i. d., praef. Germanic[i] Caesaris, quinquennialici [i]uris ex s. c., ---.

Germanicus died in 19 A. D.

PROCURATORES AUGUSTI PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.

Vitellius

69

PORCIUS SEPTIMIUS<sup>4</sup>

Tac. *Hist.* iii. 5: see Noricum 3.

## 3.

Domitian or Nerva

92 or soon after

C. VELIUS SA[L]VI F. RUFUS

*Jahresh. d. öst.-arch. Inst.* VII, Beibl. 23 ff. (Baalbek): --- C. Velio Sa[l]vi f. Rufo --- donis donato --- bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum, adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Deceballi regis Dacorum, corona murali hastis duabus vexillis duobus, proc. Imp. Caesaris Aug. Germanici provinciae Pannoniae et Delmatiae, item proc. provinciae Raetiae ius gla[d]i,<sup>5</sup> ---.

The command in Pannonia and the military exploits are placed by Ritterling<sup>6</sup> in 90/92; the office in Raetia then falls at least two years later.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Planta, pp. 159 f.; Ohl. *Sitz.* pp. 225 ff.; *Prog.* pp. 22 ff.; Marq. I. 289, n. 1; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 75; Arnold, pp. 45 f.; Frauziss, pp. 54 f.

*CIL.* XIV. 386,\* giving the name of Sex. Oppius Priscus, is forged. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Aufidius Victorinus, and P. Helvius Pertinax (cf. p. 197, n. 1), once assigned to Raetia on insufficient literary evidence, are now believed to have held commands in Germania superior; see *Pros.*, s. vv. For Ulpian Victor, see Noricum 7, and for Claudius Paternus Clementianus, see Noricum 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 21, n. 156; Lieb. *Beitr.* p. 27, n. 2. P. 219 and n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Zippel, p. 286; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 41; *Beitr.* p. 17, n. 4; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* III. 89, n. 645.

<sup>5</sup> Marq. I. 557, n. 3; Mispoulet, *Inst. Polit. d. Rom.* II. 98; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 438 ff.; Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 52; *Beitr.* p. 18 and n. 4; Jung, *Dac.* p. vi. This is perhaps the earliest known case of a procurator cum iure gladii; in the third century they become common.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 35.

## 4.

Trajan

107

TI. IULIUS AQUILINUS<sup>1</sup>

D. XXXV, pp. 1972, 867 (Weissenburg, 107 A. D.): --- in Raetia sub Ti. Iulio Aquilino ---.

## 5. (= Noricum 8)

Antoninus Pius

Probably before 155

LATIN(US) (or LATIN(IUS)) PI . . (or PL . .)

## 6.

Antoninus Pius

153/161

T. VARIUS T. FIL. CLA. CLEMENS<sup>2</sup>

*CIL.* III. 5211 (Celeia): T. Vario T. fil. Clementi Cl. Cel., proc. Aug. provinciar. Raetiae, Mauretan. Caesarensis, Lusitaniae, Ciliciae, ---.

Cf. III. 5212-5216 (Celeia).

The approximate date is determined as follows: VIII. 2728 (Lambaesis), a letter to Valerius Etruscus,<sup>3</sup> who was legate in 152 A. D.,<sup>4</sup> tells of the completion under the procurator Clemens of an aqueduct begun in 147/149. Clemens therefore was in office in Mauretania Caesariensis in 152, or not long before that year. His term in Raetia followed, but, from the occurrence of proc. Aug. in III. 5211, was not later than 161 A. D.

## 7.

Not later than Pius

L. TIT[ULEXUS ?]<sup>5</sup>

XI. 6221 (Fanum Fortunae): --- [proc.] Aug. Raetiae et [Vindeliciae ?] ---.

## 8. (= Noricum 23)

Pius or M. Aurelius

Before 168

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS

<sup>1</sup> P. 166, n. 4; *Pros.* II. 168, n. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 385, n. 185; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 257, n. 5; Jung, *Dac.* p. x, pp. 78 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros.* III. 356, n. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL.* VIII. 2543; 17854.

<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* III. 326, n. 183.

## 9.

M. Aurelius

166

T. DESTICIUS T. F. CLA. SEVERUS<sup>1</sup>

*Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1885, p. 175 (Concordia): T. Desticio T. f. Cla. Severo, p. p. leg. X gem., subpraef. vigil., proc. Aug. prov. Daciae super., proc. prov. Cappad. item Ponti mediterr. et Armen. minor. et Lycaoniae, proc. Augustor. prov. Raetiae, procur. prov. Belgicae, --- M. Claud. Paternus<sup>2</sup> amico optimo l. d. d. d. Cf. *CIL*. V. 8660 (Concordia).

D. LXXIII, p. 1991 (166 A. D., Castra Regina): --- in [Rae]tia sub [De]sticio Severo pr[oc.] ---.

## 10.

M. Aurelius

167/169

Q. CAICILIUS CISIACUS SEPTICIUS PICA CAICILIANUS<sup>3</sup>

*CIL*. V. 3936 (Arusnates): Q. Caicilio Cisiaco Septicio Picai Caiciliano procur. Augustor. et pro leg. provinciae Raitiai et Vindelici. et vallis Poenin., auguri, flamine divi Aug. et Romai, C. Ligurius L. f. Vol. Asper O coh. I c. R. ingenuor.

The only time in the reign of two Augusti when Raetia was a procuratorial province was under M. Aurelius and L. Verus, 161-169.<sup>4</sup> The increase of military force shown by the title procur. et pro leg. probably indicates a date subsequent to that of Raetia 9 (166 A. D.), i. e., during the transition from procurators to legati.<sup>5</sup>

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.<sup>6</sup>

## 11.

M. Aurelius or later

APPIUS CL(AUDIUS) LATERANUS<sup>7</sup>

III. 5793 (Augusta): Mercurio cuius sedes a ter(go) sunt Appius Cl. Lateranus, XV vir. sacr. fac., cos. design., leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Ital.,<sup>8</sup> v. s. l. m.

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* II. 8, n. 50; Hirschfeld, *Verw.* p. 257, n. 5; Jung, *Dac.* pp. 40 f. <sup>2</sup> P. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros.* I. 247, n. 25; cf. *Pros.* III. 39, n. 304 (where read "a. 219" for "a. 119").

<sup>4</sup> P. 168. Cichorius's date under Claudius (PW. IV. 303) is therefore impossible; Zippel, pp. 289 f., wrongly places the inscription under Marcus and Commodus.

<sup>5</sup> P. 197; Lieb, *Quaestl.* p. 53; *Beitr.* p. 18, n. 3; Jung, *Röm.* p. 34, n. 5; Hirschfeld, *Sitz.* pp. 430 f.

<sup>6</sup> P. 168; Planta, p. 161; Ohl, *Sitz.* pp. 227 ff.; *Prog.* pp. 25 ff.; Marq. I. 289, n. 5; Lieb, *Verw.* p. 352 ff.; Jung, *Dac.* p. xviii, n. 10; Arnold, p. 46; Franziss, pp. 55 f.

The recognition of Iasdius as legate of Raetia rests solely upon an old restoration of *CIL*. VI. 1428; a better text is given in VI. 31651 (cf. *Pros.* II. 151, n. 8). Ohl, *Prog.* pp. 17, 26, gives M. Aurelius Probus as legate of Raetia in 253-259, his authority being *Script. Prob.* 5. But legio tertia felix there assigned to Probus was more probably legio III Gallica; cf. *CIL*. II. 2103. Felix is nowhere used of leg. III Ital.

<sup>7</sup> *Pros.* I. 383, n. 731. Ohlenschläger, *Sitz.* pp. 227 ff.; *Prog.* p. 14 (followed by Lieb, *Verw.* p. 354; Arnold, p. 46) assigns this man to 196 A. D., but the consul of 197 was T. Sextius Lateranus (Klein, *Fasti consulares*, p. 87). See also Raetia 18.

<sup>8</sup> Lieb, *Verw.* p. 468.

169/177, 182/196, 212, 214/246, etc., are the only dates possible for a single Augustus during the period of legati, except the years when other governors are definitely known.

## 12.

M. Aurelius or later

[CAERELLIUS]<sup>1</sup>

XIII. 6806 (Mainz): [Caerellius . . . leg. Aug.] pr. pr. pro[vi]n[c.] Thrac., Moes. sup., Rae[t.], Germ. sup. et Britt., et Modestiana eius et Caerellii Marcianus et Germanilla filii.

The dates are the same as for Raetia 11.

## 13.

Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius

167/200 circ.

*Ann. Ep.* 1890, n. 136 = *IGR.* I. 971 (Gortyna): . . . [ἐπὶ τοῦ] σε[τ]ομετρίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ταχθέν[τα], τειμηθέντα ἱεροσύνῃ τῶν ἐ' ἀνδρῶ[ν, . . . ]ριανῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, [πρεσβευτήν] Ἀφρικῆς ἀνθύπατο[ν στρατηγὸν πε]ντάραβδον<sup>3</sup> Ραιτίας, [Βολουμν]ία Κάληδα<sup>4</sup> τὸν γλινκύτα[ον καὶ εὐ]σεβέστατον υἱόν.

*Ibid.* n. 135 = *IGR.* I. 969: Μ. Ῥώσκιον Κυρεῖνα Λοῦπον Μου[ρ]ήναν,<sup>5</sup> Μ. Μουρήνα στρατηγικοῦ<sup>6</sup> υἱόν, Μ. Μουρήνα<sup>7</sup> ἀνθυπάτου Βειθυνίας ἔκγονον, σεπτίμβερα ἐπούλων, χειλίρχον λεγεῶνος ἐβδόμης Κλανδίας, προστάτην λεγεῶνος τετάρτης Φλαβίας, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχείας Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης, Βολουμνία Κάληδα<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἐγγόνου.

Now the grandfather, M. (Roscius) Murena,<sup>7</sup> must have been proconsul of Bithynia before 165 A. D., by which year at the latest Bithynia had become an imperial province, governed by a leg. Aug. pr. pr.<sup>8</sup> He would naturally be from thirty to fifty years older than his grandson's father-(or uncle-)in-law, who therefore was not likely to have been quinquifascalis Raetiae later than the reign of Septimius Severus.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* I. 262, n. 120; *PW.* III. 1283, n. 1. Not the C. Caerellius Sabinus of III. 1074-1076; 1092; 1111; cf. *Ohl. Prog.* p. 27, n. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Pros.* III. 500, n. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Pros.* III. 480, n. 644.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 135, n. 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* n. 71.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* n. 70.

<sup>8</sup> *PW.* III. 529 f.

<sup>9</sup> As the upper limit is fixed at 167 (p. 165), the date assigned to both inscriptions by Halbherr, *Museo ital. di ant. class.* III. 703, is too early by about half a century. The evidence there adduced, the absence of the title *felix* from the name of legio IV Flavia, is not conclusive, see, for example, *CIL.* VIII. 2744, 2745 (176 A. D.); V. 1870 (under Commodus); III. 1201 (after Caracalla).

## 14.

M. Aurelius-Commodus

179-180

M. HELVIUS [CLE]MENS DEXTRIANUS<sup>1</sup>

*CIL.* III. 11965 (Castra Regina): --- vallu[m] cum portis et turribus etc. (= fec.?) [. . . curante?] M. Helvio [Cle]mente Dextriano leg. Au[gg. pr. pr.]

The titles of M. Aurelius and Commodus which precede the part quoted, although apparently referring to the year 179, are given in a form used only after the death of Marcus.<sup>2</sup> The stone therefore was probably cut after March 17, 180, and the term of Helvius belonged, in part at least, to the year of transition, 180, though it may have begun in 179.

## 15.

Commodus

181

SPICIUS CERIALIS

III. 14370<sub>2</sub> (Böhming): --- Spicio Ceriale leg. Aug. pr. pr., vex(illarii)<sup>3</sup> leg. III Ital. vallum [f]ece(runt) c. a. Iul. Iu[1?]-lino 7 leg. III Ital., item portas cum turrib. IIII perfec(tas) ab Ael. Forte c. leg. III Ital., praep. c[o]h. I Br.,<sup>4</sup> Imp. III Bur[ro cos.] (181 A. D.)

## 16.

Commodus

183/185

[CERI]ALIS OR [FETI]ALIS<sup>5</sup>

III. 11933, pp. 2328<sup>52, 201</sup> (Pfünz, in castris)<sup>6</sup>: --- [Com]modo --- cos. IIII<sup>7</sup> [coh. I] Breuc.<sup>4</sup> [dedicante?] Fetiale<sup>8</sup> [leg. Aug.] pr. pr.

If the name was really Cerialis, the identity of this legatus with Raetia 15 is not improbable, and would be an indication, perhaps, that at this period legati held their commands for a term of years.<sup>9</sup> But the assumption that such was the case and that the rulers of III. 11933 and III. 14370<sub>2</sub> were the same, seems to have influenced the later observers who report the reading as Ceriale.

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* II. 131, n. 47.<sup>2</sup> *CIL.* *not. ad loc.*<sup>3</sup> *Marq.* II. 464.<sup>4</sup> *P.* 217.<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* II. 59, n. 116.<sup>6</sup> On p. 2328<sup>52</sup> read 14370<sup>2</sup> instead of 1437<sup>01</sup>.<sup>7</sup> The date is 183-185, not 183-184: cos. V was in 186, Klein, *Fasti cons.* p. 84.<sup>8</sup> *Pp.* 2328<sup>52, 201</sup>: [C]erialis.<sup>9</sup> Cf. Raetia 14; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 454 f.



## 17.

Commodus, Elagabalus, or Alexander Probably 182/192, 218/234[AELIUS ? 'DIO]NYSIUS<sup>1</sup>

III. 5874 (Lauingen): [d]ei Apollinis Grauni [pro salute Imp. Caes. M. Au]rel . . . . . p. p. [ . . . Aelius ? Dio]nysius leg. Aug. pr. pr. . . . . Kal. Iunias.

170/177, 180/192, 212/216, 218/234 are the years when a single [Au]rel[ius] was Augustus in May within the period during which Raetia was ruled by legati. Other names have been assigned to 180, 181, 213, and perhaps to 182-183/5.<sup>2</sup> If the letters missing in the imperial titles were intentionally erased, 170/177, 212/216 are not possible.

## 18.

Septimius Severus

197

P. PORCIUS OPTATUS FLAMMA<sup>3</sup>

VIII. 7062 (Cirta): --- [P.] Porci Optati Flamma[e] c. v., praetoris --- sacerdot[io] Flaviali Titiali iudicio dom[ini] n. sanctissimi et fortissi[mi] Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Sever[i Per]tinacis Aug. Pii exor-[nati], legati ab amplissimo s[enatu] ad eundem dominum [i]mp. in Germaniam et [ad] Antoninum Caes. [im]p. destinatum (197 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> in Pannoni[am] missi ---.

VIII. 7064 (Cirta): [ . . . . leg. pr.] pr. provinciae RLII . . . . (=R(a)etiae ? ) --- [ei]usdem Porci Optati g. . . . .

Possibly Porcius was legatus of Raetia at the time when he was sent to the North in 197.

## 19.

Septimius Severus

198/209

SABI[NUS]<sup>5</sup>

III. 5727, p. 1050 ad p. 705, III (milestone): --- Sabi[no v. c. le]g. Augg. pr. pr.

<sup>1</sup> *Pros.* I. 15, n. 130; *PW.* I. 492, n. 47 (the date under M. Aurelius is a mere assumption).

<sup>2</sup> Raetia 14, 15, 20, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros.* III. 88, n. 640; *IGR.* III. 1480.

<sup>4</sup> *Sch.* I. 715, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* III. 153, n. 19.

## 20.

Caracalla

213

C. OCTAVIUS APP(IVS) SUETRIUS SABINUS<sup>1</sup>

X. 5398 (Aquinum): C. Octavio App. S[ue]trio Sabino c. v., po[n]tif. et auguri, cos. ordin[ar.] (214 A. D.), legato Aug. pr. pr. Pannon. i[nf.] (217 A. D.), elect. ad corrig. statum Ita[l.], praef. aliment., indici ex dele[g.] cognition. Caesarian., legato [Aug.] pr. pr. prov. Raet., praeposit. vxi[ll.] Germ. expedit., comit. Aug. n̄. (213 A. D.),<sup>2</sup> legat. l[eg. II] et vicen-sim. pr[im]ig., — — praet. de liberalib. causis — — .

Cf. X. 5178 (Casinum).

The command in Germany and the legateship in Raetia were undoubtedly contemporaneous.

## 21.

Gordian

238/244

PETRONIUS POLIANUS<sup>3</sup>

III. 1017 (Apulum): Genio Imp. Gordiani p. [f.] invict.<sup>4</sup> Aug. Petronius Polianus v. c., leg. leg. XIII [g.] Gord., leg. Aug. [pr. p]r. Raet., i[te]m Belgicae.<sup>5</sup>

## 22.

Philip, Trebouian, or Valerian

Probably 246/249, 251/255

OLUS TERENCEIUS PUDENS UTTEDIANUS<sup>6</sup>

III. 993 (Apulum): Caelesti<sup>7</sup> Augustae et Aesculapio<sup>8</sup> Augusto et genio Carthaginis et genio Daciarum, Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus, leg. Augg. leg. XIII gem.,<sup>9</sup> leg. Augg. pro praet. [pr]ovinciae Retiae.

The date, from the similarity to III. 1017 (Raetia 21), also from Apulum, is likely to be of about the same period; Augg.

<sup>1</sup> *EE*. I, pp. 130 ff.; Sch. I. 750, n. 3; *Pros*. II, 425, n. 19; to the references there given add *CIL*. VI. 31338a; 31633; XV. 4097; 7546.

<sup>2</sup> Sch. I. 743, n. 5; 744.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros*. III, 29, n. 217; Jaug, *Dac*, p. 60. <sup>4</sup> *PW*. I. 2623.

<sup>5</sup> Liebenam's date "um 235" (*Verr*, p. 354) contradicts his remark (p. 80) "daun Legat in Raetien nnd Belgica unter Gordian." Legio XIII gemina was not stationed in Britain (no inscriptions of this legion found in Britain are indexed in the *Corpus* or the *Ephemeris epigraphica*) but in Dacia, see, for example, *CIL*. III. 990, 1125 from Apulum during the reign of Gordian.

<sup>6</sup> *Pros*. III, 303, n. 65.

<sup>7</sup> Eckhel, VII, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly invoked in reference to the plague of 251 A. D.? See Sch. I. 809, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Legio XIII gemina is honored on the coins of Dacia. 247-255 A. D.; Cohen, V, pp. 119, 152, 172, 199, 221, 233, 280, 294, 472.

points therefore either to 246/249 or 251/260;<sup>1</sup> a dedication *genio Daciarum* is hardly likely, however, after the loss of the province in 256.

### DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI.<sup>2</sup>

23.

Trebonian

253

#### P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS<sup>3</sup>

Eutrop. ix. 7: hinc Licinius Valerianus in Raetia et Norico<sup>4</sup> agens ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus.

Aurel. Vict. *de Caes.* 32: at milites, qui contracti undique apud Raetias ob instans bellum morabantur.<sup>5</sup> Licinio Valeriano imperium deferunt.

24.

Valerian

258

#### FULVIUS BOIUS<sup>6</sup>

*Script. Aurelian.* 13.1: cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium, praesente — — — et Fulvio Boio duce Retici limitis — — —.

25.

Gallienus

267

#### AUREOLUS<sup>7</sup>

Aurel. Vict. *de Caes.* 33: namque Aureolus, cum per Raetias legionibus<sup>8</sup> praesset, excitus, uti mos est, socordia tam ignavi ducis, sumpto imperio Romam contendebat.

*CIL.* III. 11999 (tegula; Erling, Raetia): Aureolus.

<sup>1</sup> It is hard to see why Liebenam (*Veric.* p. 353) says: "In den beiden Augusti sind wohl Marc Aurel und Verus zu erkennen" (168/169 would be the only possible years, for Raetia in 166 and afterwards was still a procuratorial province, cf. Raetia 9, 10). With equal positiveness, Jung, *Dac.* pp. 58 f. (cf. Vaschide, p. 89), concludes: "Wohl aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla," and Planta, p. 161, n. 3: "am wahrscheinlichsten unter Diocletian."

<sup>2</sup> Ohl. *Sitz.* p. 228; *Prog.* p. 28; Lieb. *Verw.* p. 354, n. 1; Arnold, p. 46; Franziss, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Pros.* II. 286, n. 178. The exact title borne is a matter of inference merely; Valerian and Aureolus seem, however, to have exercised a military command of somewhat more general character than that of the leg. III Ital. and accordingly are placed here rather than in the preceding list. But see p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> If Valerian really operated in Noricum, that fact in itself is an evidence of the unsettled state of affairs, for under ordinary circumstances the administration of the provinces was quite distinct; cf. p. 173, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Soldiers of leg. III Aug. were among them; see p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> Sch. I. 819; *Pros.* II. 92, n. 362.

<sup>7</sup> Sch. I. 840; 845, n. 6; *Pros.* I. 219, n. 1338; PW. II. 2545 f.

<sup>8</sup> Legio III Italica is the only one known to have been in Raetia at this time; cf. p. 211.

According to another tradition, Aureolus revolted after reaching Italy.

Zos. i. 40: - - ἀγγέλλεται Γαλλιηνῶ τῷ πρὸς Σκύθας ἐγκαρτεροῦντι πολέμῳ τὸν τῆς ἵππου πάσης ἡγούμενον Αὐρίολον, ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πάροδον Πιοστούμου τεταγμένον παραφυλάττειν, εἰς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τετράφθαι καὶ μνᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ.

26.

Aurelian

270/275

BONOSUS<sup>1</sup>

*Script. Bonos.* 14. 2: - - - dux limitis Retici fuit.

PRAESIDES PROVINCIAE RAETIAE.<sup>2</sup>

27.

Diocletian

290

SEPT(IMIUS) [VALE]NTIO<sup>3</sup>

*CIL.* III. 5810 (Augusta, 290 A. D.): - - - Sept. [Vale]ntio v. p. p. p. R. - - - .

The next four praesides (28-31) belong in the period between the reforms of Diocletian and the division of Raetia in the fourth century.<sup>4</sup>

28.

AURELIUS MUCIANUS<sup>5</sup>

III. 5785 (Augusta): [Her]culi statuam cum base Aurelius Mucianus v. p. p. p. R. pro salute sua suorumque omnium [po]suit curante . . . . Gerontio . . . .

29.

VALERIUS VENUSTUS<sup>6</sup>

III. 5862 (Zwiefalten): deo invicto soli templum a solo restituit Valerius Venustus v. p. p. p. R. - - -

30.

III. 5788 (Augusta): [I.] O. M. [aet]erno [con]servatori [ceterisque dis] deabusque [hui]us loci . . . . p. p. Retie [vot]o cum suis [om]nibus [susc.] III Nonas . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Sch. I. 880; *Pros.* I. 239, n. 120; PW. III. 713f.

<sup>2</sup> Ohl. *Sitz.* pp. 229 f.; *Prog.* p. 29; Marq. I. 289, n. 6; Arnold, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL.* VI. 1125.

<sup>4</sup> P. 169, n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Pros.* I. 210, n. 1277.

<sup>6</sup> *Pros.* III. 379, n. 151.

## 31.

III. 14370<sup>12</sup> (Castra Regina): . . . . v. [p.] p. p. R. [et] Secundinus  
præf. leg. eiusdem.

## Summary of the Governors of Raetia.

Emperor and Date	PRAEPECTI
Augustus or Tiberius	
1. Before 19	Sex. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus
Vitellius	PROCURATORES
2. 69	Porcius Septimius
Domitian or Nerva	
3. 92 or soon after	C. Velius Rufus
Trajan	
4. 107	Ti. Iulius Aquilinus
Antoninus Pius	
5. Probably before 155	Latin. Pi . . . . . (=Noricum 8)
6. 153/161	T. Varius Clemens
7. Not later than Pius	L. Tit[ulenus ?]
Pius or M. Aurelius	
8. Before 168	Sex. Baius Pudens . . . . . (=Noricum 23)
M. Aurelius	
9. 166	T. Desticius Severus
10. 167/169	Q. Caecilius Cisiacus Septicius Pica Caecilianus
	LEGATI
M. Aurelius or later	
11.	Appius Cl. Lateranus
12.	[Caerellius]
Marcus, Commodus, or Septimius Severus	
13. 167/200 circ.	. . . . .
M. Aurelius- Commodus	
14. 179-180	M. Helvius [Cle]mens Dextrianus
Commodus	
15. 181	Spicius Cerialis
16. 183/185	[Ceri]alis or [Feti]alis
Commodus, Elagaba- lus, or Alexander	
17. Probably 182/192, 218/234	[Aelius ? Dio]nysius

Emperor and Date		LEGATI
Septimius Severus		
18.	197	P. Porcius Optatus Flamma
19.	198/209	Sabi[nus]
Caracalla		
20.	213	C. Octavius App. Suetrius Sabinus
Gordian		
21.	238/244	Petronius Polianus
Philip, Trebonian, or Valerian		
22.	Probably 246/249, 251/255	Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus
Trebonian		DUCES LIMITIS RAETICI
23.	253	P. Licinius Valerianus
Valerian		
24.	258	Fulvius Boius
Gallienus		
25.	267	Aureolus
Aurelian		
26.	270/275	Bonosus
Diocletian		PRAESIDES
27.	290	Sept. [Vale]ntio
Diocletian or later		
28.		Aurelius Mucianus
29.		Valerius Venustus
30.		.....
31.		.....

## PART II. THE ARMY.

### I. The Legions of Noricum.

#### LEGIO II ITALICA: HISTORY.<sup>1</sup>

*Formation and early history.*—The second legion, which eventually garrisoned Noricum, was levied by M. Aurelius<sup>2</sup> in northern Italy,<sup>3</sup> immediately after the outbreak of the Marcomannic war became imminent. The draft, which was put in charge of M. Claudius Fronto, was ordered in 165 or 166 and was presumably completed in about two years.<sup>4</sup> In 170 A. D. a detachment commanded by a centurion of legio II Traiana helped strengthen the walls of Salonae in Dalmatia.<sup>5</sup> The legion arrived in Noricum probably not later than 171/174 A. D.,<sup>6</sup> and remained there permanently. Mommsen's view<sup>7</sup> that it was sent for a time to Pan-

<sup>1</sup> The best account is by Cagnat, *DS*, III. 1078.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, *lv*. 24. 4; cf. *Script. M. Aur.* 14. 6; *Ver.* 9. 10.

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by the name Italica, and by the fact that several officers and soldiers of the early period are known whose homes were in that region: in Ameria, *CIL*, XI. 4371; Der-tona, VI. 1636; Firmum, III. 15208; Ocriculum, XI. 4085; Terwentum, IX. 2593; see pp. 199, 178, 202, 201; Arnold, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> On *CIL*, VI. 1377, 31640; III. 1457, which give the complete cursus of M. Claudius Fronto, see Dessau, 1097 f.; *Pros.* I. 373, n. 699; *PW.* III. 2722, n. 157. After holding two important commands in the Armenian and Parthian war of 162-165 but before receiving the *dona militaria* at the triumph of 166, Fronto was made consul and curator operum publicorum, and was detailed for recruiting service in Italy (*CIL*, VI. 1377, l. 14: *missus ad iuventutem per Italiam legendam*; cf. *DS*, II. 219). Certainly this can refer to nothing but the levy of the second and third Italic legions. Fronto was relieved from his duties as dilectator in Italy in time to hold two other offices before the death of Verus in 169. The alarm caused by the siege of Aquileia would naturally hasten all preparations for defense.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL*, III. 1980.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Weerd, *MB*, VII. 101-103, using *CIL*, IX. 2593 (p. 201, n. 5), shows that the soldier there named enlisted in legio II Italica in the original levy and served in Noricum at Aelia Ovilava, dying at the age of twenty-three; hence, if he enlisted aged eighteen to twenty, the legion had reached Noricum by 171-174. But enlistment of legionaries earlier or later than the age given is fairly common (e. g., at fourteen, III. 3538; at fifteen, XIII. 6886; at sixteen, III. 12440; XIII. 6853; at seventeen, XI. 4085; Dessau, 2261; 2341; 2348; at twenty-two, III. 5950; Dessau, 2252; 2258; 2265; 2314; 2329; 2352; 2422; at twenty-three, Dessau, 2245; 2284; 2319; older than twenty-three, III. 4857; XIII. 6943; Dessau, 2257; 2270; 2273; cf. *DS*, II. 221), and would be unusually frequent at such a time of peril as 166/169. The arrival of the legion may possibly, therefore, have been as early as 168/170 or as late as 175/177. It was presumably later than 167/169, the date of the last procurator of Raetia.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL*, III. 1980, note.



nonia does not seem very likely; there is nothing to support it<sup>1</sup> except the fact that Pannonia was Marcus's headquarters,<sup>2</sup> while on the other hand the attack of 162<sup>3</sup> and the invasion of 167/169 had recently shown that the upper Danube frontier and the roads leading south through Noricum and Raetia needed guarding, and that a procuratorial form of government was no longer adequate.<sup>4</sup>

*Name and titles.*—In 170 A. D. the legion bore the name II pia,<sup>5</sup> which was still in use as late as 191 A. D.;<sup>6</sup> legio II Italica was, however, the common designation throughout its history.<sup>7</sup> In 193 the legion was honored on the silver coinage of Septimius Severus,<sup>8</sup> whose assumption of the imperial power in the spring of that year it had undoubtedly supported;<sup>9</sup> before April 11, 200, it had received from him the title fidelis.<sup>10</sup> Antoniniana was added under Caracalla,<sup>11</sup> dropped after his death (April 8, 217),<sup>12</sup> and resumed under Elagabalus.<sup>13</sup> During the reign of Alexander Severus, the cognomen Severiana was used.<sup>14</sup> June 23, 238, allegiance to Gordian III was declared by a votive offering in the name of a bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p. f. Aug. n.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore perhaps a mere accident that no instance of the name Gordiana

<sup>1</sup> Pertinax's defense of Noricum and Raetia by means of leg. I (adi.) (*Script. Pert.* 2. 6, cf. Dio, lxxi. 3. 2; perhaps in 172, see Sch. I. 647) does not necessarily imply that the provinces had not yet received their own legions. *CIL* III, p. 707.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, lxxi. 3. 1; Eutrop. viii. 13. 1; Hieron. *Chron.* Euseb. a. Abr. 2194; Oros. vii. 15. 6. Pannonia continued to be the headquarters in the German wars even after the date when legio II Italica is known positively to have been in Noricum.

<sup>3</sup> Sch. I. 638 and n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Raetia 10; Sch. I. 642-645.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* III. 1980 = Dessau, 2287, where see note.

<sup>6</sup> III. 15208.

<sup>7</sup> Dio, lv. 24. 4; *CIL* VI. 3492; III, *passim*; III. 5567 (182 A. D. or soon after) is perhaps the earliest instance.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen, IV, p. 31, n. 261; Jung, *Röm.* p. 36, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> P. 178, n. 3; Herodian, ii. 9. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL* XI. 1322; probably before his departure for the East in the autumn of 197 (Sch. I. 719, n. 1).

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* III. 5185 and 11482 (215 A. D.); perhaps not assumed at the beginning of Caracalla's sole reign, for it does not appear in III. 5187 (Dec. 13, 211), although the inscriptions of beneficiarii are usually accurate and complete.

<sup>12</sup> III. 5189 (217 A. D.).

<sup>13</sup> III. 5580 (May 15, 219). Antoniniana occurs also in the following undated inscriptions: III. 4862; 5757 (teg.).

<sup>14</sup> III. 5575 (May 15, 226); 3270 (226 A. D.); 5690 (May 15, 230); undated, 5449; p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813; 5633, 11806.

<sup>15</sup> III. 4820 (Virunum). This inscription is used to fix the date of Gordian's accession; cf. PW. I. 2621 ff. In *CIL* III, p. 2438 the date is wrongly given as June 24.

occurs.<sup>1</sup> The titles *pia fidelis* were renewed by Valerian and Gallienus in 253<sup>2</sup> and at intervals thereafter; LEG. II. ITAL. VI. P. VI. F.<sup>3</sup> and LEG. II. ITAL. VII. P. VII. F.<sup>4</sup> appear on the bronze legionary coinage of Gallienus.

*Stations.*—One of the most important duties of the legion was to guard and keep in repair the road leading east through Celeia to Poetovio in Pannonia superior, which formed the main line of communication between Italy and the Lower Danubian provinces.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, bricks made by the legion have been found in large numbers near Celeia, and all the way from that city to Atrans.<sup>6</sup>

The main camp of the legion at Lauriacum was occupied from 191 A. D. at the latest until Noricum ripense was abandoned in the fifth century;<sup>7</sup> in the fourth century, at least, it had a shield factory (*fabrica scutaria*),<sup>8</sup> and served as headquarters for a fleet,<sup>9</sup> and for auxiliaries.<sup>10</sup>

Ovilava, twenty-six miles west and south of Lauriacum, at the junction-point of roads leading to Raetia and to the southeast, was garrisoned for a short time in the early history of the legion;<sup>11</sup> later it was deserted in favor of Ioviacum<sup>12</sup> and Lentia<sup>13</sup> on the Danube.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 206 and n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Valerian had good reason to honor the legions of the Upper Danube; see Raetia 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, V, p. 388, nn. 471-474; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbols: the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; a capricorn; cf. DS. III. 1074 f.). The earlier renewals are inferred from inscriptions of other legions. *CIL*. VIII. 2482, 17976 (Gemellae, Oct. 22, 253): --- l(egionis) [III Aug. II p. v. re]stitutae ---; VIII. 2852, p. 954 (Lambaesis): --- leg. III Aug. II pi[ae II vindicis] --- (DS. III. 1079); *CIL*. III. 875 (Potaissa, 253-260 A. D.): --- leg. V. Mac. III pia fidelis ---; III. 3521 (Aquincum, 270 A. D.): --- leg. II adi. VI p. VI f. ---. (But cf. Eckhel, VII, p. 404; Cohen, V, p. 388, n. 469.)

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, V, p. 388, n. 477; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbol: a stork).

<sup>5</sup> P. 165, n. 4; work was done on this road as late as 367 A. D. (*CIL*. III. 5740).

<sup>6</sup> III. 5757 f, g, p; 11849 a-d; 11850; 11851; 14369d.

<sup>7</sup> *Itin. Ant.* p. 115; *Tab. Peut.* IV a: *Elegio* (?); *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 39; tegulae from this neighborhood: *CIL*. III. 5757; pp. 963 f., nn. 11, 13, 17, 18; p. 1059; 11849; 13535 f.; p. 2287; p. 2328<sup>50</sup> (cf. 5757 i, x); inscriptions from members of leg. II Ital.: III. 11822-24; 15208 (191 A. D.); 15208<sup>1</sup> (cf. p. 180). The site may have been occupied even before the arrival of the legion; III. 11826 (about 158 A. D.; cf. Noricum 9, p. 174). Work was done on the roads passing through Lauriacum from 195 till after the middle of the third century (p. 165, n. 4).

The later parts of *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, Vienna, 1900- will give valuable information about the fortifications along the Danube.

<sup>8</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* ix. 21.

<sup>9</sup> P. 221.

<sup>10</sup> P. 214; cf. *CIL*. III. 11872 (teg.) (?).

<sup>11</sup> IX. 2593 (p. 196, n. 6); III, p. 2328<sup>50</sup> (teg.); Ovilava is not mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*.

<sup>12</sup> P. 221; III. 5757 b, m (teg.).

<sup>13</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 38; *CIL*. III. 5688.

Bricks of leg. II Ital. dating from the period when parts of Noricum and Pannonia were united under one dux, are common in Pannonia superior near Carnuntum and Vindobona.<sup>1</sup>

In the fourth century a part of the legion was in Africa,<sup>2</sup> another detachment at Divitia on the Lower Rhine.<sup>3</sup> No other stations are known.<sup>4</sup>

*Active service.*—An expedition against the Daci<sup>5</sup> and a war with the Goths<sup>6</sup> are known from epitaphs but cannot be dated.<sup>7</sup> For the rest, the inscriptions of Noricum give no information.<sup>8</sup>

## LEGIO II ITALICA: OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.<sup>9</sup>

### HIGHER OFFICERS

LEGATI LEGIONIS	See Noricum 25-33
DUCES LIMITANEI	See Noricum 34-36
PRAEPECTI <sup>10</sup>	
P. Vibius P. f. Marianus <sup>11</sup>	VI. 1636
TRIBUNI	
Maccius Severinus	XII. 1356 (Vasio)
Sex. Ticiasenus Sex. f.	XI. 4371 (Ameria)
Sex. n. Sex. pron. Clu.	
Allianus	
[III. 5657]	

<sup>1</sup> Noricum 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* vii. 144 = v. 86 = 235.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL.* XI. 4787; VI. 3637; see *PW.* V. 1238 f.; *CIL.* XIII. 6814; 7054, 7750 f.; 7761.

<sup>4</sup> Isolated bricks found elsewhere are undoubtedly chance importations: III. 10662 (Pann. inf.); 11849 c (Mautern); cf. p. 205. Glandes of this legion are spurious: I<sup>1</sup>. 656; IX. 667\* f.; *EE.* VI, pp. 88 ff. On *CIL.* III. 4850 (Virunum), see III. p. 597.

<sup>5</sup> III. 4857; 5218.

<sup>6</sup> III. 11700.

<sup>7</sup> III. 4835; 4850 (cf. 5234) also are the epitaphs of soldiers slain in war. III. 3270 (Tentoburgium, Pann. inf., 226 A. D.) and *IGR.* I. 678 (Thrace, north of Serdica) probably show that the legion took part in some Eastern expedition.

<sup>8</sup> *P.* 165, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> The offices are arranged approximately in the order of rank, the officers alphabetically except in the list of beneficiarii consularis (pp. 200 f.), which is in chronological order. The numbers within brackets which are appended to several of the lists refer to inscriptions containing no indication of the troop to which the soldier belonged. They are included here because of the slight presumption that the legion stationed in the province is meant when no other is named.

<sup>10</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 37-39.

<sup>11</sup> *D. m. s.* P. Vibi P. f. Mariani e. m. v., proc. et praesidi prov. Sardiniae, p. p. bis, trib. coh. X pr., XI urb., IIII vig., praef. leg. II Ital., p. p. leg. III Gafl., 7 frument., oriundo ex Ital. Iul. Dertona, ---; it is not clear why a date under Septimius Severus is assigned (*Lieb. Quaestt.* p. 76). *EE.* I, p. 99, n. 28; *Pros.* III. 422, n. 387.

## CENTURIONS

PRIMPILARES<sup>1</sup>

Val. Cl. Quintus <sup>2</sup>		III. 4855 (Virunum)
M. Gavius Firmus <sup>3</sup>	Sept. 18, 191	III. 15208 (Lauriacum)
.....		III. 11824 [Lauriacum]
[III. 5341]		

ORDINARI<sup>4</sup>

Florius Baudio <sup>5</sup>		XI. 4787 (Spolegium)
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## CENTURIONES

[M. Petronius Fortuna- tus] <sup>6</sup>	Under Severus or Caracalla	VIII. 217 (Mausoleum Petroniorum)
Saturninus <sup>7</sup>		VIII. 17626 (Vazaivi)
L. Sep[t. T]ertinu[s] <sup>8</sup>	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5300 (Kerschbach)
..... nius [Pro]culus <sup>9</sup>		III. 4861 (Virunum)
[III. 5582, p. 1839]		

PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS<sup>10</sup>BENEFICIARI<sup>11</sup> CONSULARIS<sup>12</sup>

Rufi. Senilis	M. Aurelius or Commodus <sup>11</sup>	III. 5188 (Celeia) <sup>13</sup>
M. Ulpius Acilianus	M. Aurelius or Commodus <sup>14</sup>	III. 5180 (Celeia)

<sup>1</sup> Madvig, *Verf. u. Verw. d. röm. Staates*, II. 565.

<sup>2</sup> "pp. leg. II Ital., duci leg. III Ital., duci et praep. leg. III Aug." Cf. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> See Noricum 26.

<sup>4</sup> *EE*. IV, pp. 239 f.

<sup>5</sup> "viro ducentario, protectori ex ordinario leg. II Ital. Divit." Cf. p. 199, n. 3; Marq. II. 609 ff.; *EE*. V, p. 122, n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Lieb. *Quaestt.* p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> "[bf.] leg. III Au[g, ex]pleta [s]tatione pr[o]motus ad [7] leg. II Italicae."

<sup>8</sup> The rank (7) is restored.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL*. III. 4861: ..... nius [Pro]culus 7 [leg.] II Italicae. fr. Fr. at the end of this inscription is explained fr(atri) in the note, fr(umentarius) in the index, p. 2475. Cf. p. 202 and u. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *EE*. IV, pp. 531-537.

<sup>11</sup> It is generally stated, as by Causer, *EE*. IV, pp. 379, 385; Marq. II. 549, n. 7, that co(n)-s(ularis) in this title (and by implication, therefore, in str. cos., libr. cos., etc.) designates the holder as the assistant of a man of consular rank. The lists here given are enough to show that in the less important provinces the original meaning of the terms had been extended to include the helpers of the legatus pro praetore, regardless of his rank, which in Noricum and Raetia was praetorian or less (p. 168).

<sup>12</sup> The following names (with the exception of the fourth and the last) are learned from a series of dedications to I. O. M., often with the addition of d(is) d(eabus), the imperial house, or a local deity (Celeia, Noreia, or Bedaius). See pp. 166, 182 f. on similar inscriptions by beneficiarii of procurators.

<sup>13</sup> This inscription and that of P. Aelius Verinus below, to judge from the place of finding, the dedications to local deities (Celeia and Noreia), and the similarity in form to others of the series, surely belong to the legion stationed in Noricum.

<sup>14</sup> From the circumstances of finding and the simple form, the date is quite certainly early, i. e., before the cognomen pia fidelis was given by Septimius Severus (p. 197).

## BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

Q. Sextius Pullaenius	192	III. 5178 (Celeia)
..... <sup>1</sup>	After 205 (?)	III. 5537 (Iuvavum)
C. Aemil. Respectus	May 15, 209	III. 14361 (S. Leonhard near Villach)
C. Licinius Bellicianus	Dec. 13, 211	III. 5187 (Celeia)
P. Aelius Verinus	213	III. 5154 (Celeia) <sup>2</sup>
Vib. Cassius Victorinus	215	III. 5185 (Celeia)
Restituti[us] Tutor	215	III. 11482 (Unterthörl)
M. Aurel. Iustus	217	III. 5189 (Celeia)
Tul. Iuvenis	May 15, 219	III. 5580 (Bedauium)
Vind. Verus	May 15, 226	III. 5575 (Bedauium)
C. Oppius Bebius	226	III. 3270 (Teutoburgium)
M. Rusticus P. [f. I]uni- anus	May 15, 230	III. 5690 (Boiodurum)
.....	June 23, 238	III. 4820 (Virunum)
..... ius Qui[nti]l[i]a- n[u]s	Date unknown	III. 11676 (Atrans)
[III. 4776; 4860; 5072; 5631; 14366]		

BENEFICIARII PRAELECTI LEGIONIS<sup>3</sup>

Inl. Apricius	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5671 (Fafiana)
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BENEFICIARII TRIBUNI<sup>4</sup>

P. Florius P. fil. Vol. Praenestinus <sup>5</sup>	M. Aurelius	IX. 2593 (Terventum)
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BENEFICIARII<sup>6</sup>

[III. 4771, 11496; 4833; 4852; 5160; 5221; 5517; 11524]

STRATORES CONSULARIS<sup>7, 8</sup>

M. Aurel. Sa[lvi]anus <sup>9</sup>	Under Alexan- der Severus	III. 5449 (Semriach)
M. Aurelius Secundinus		III. 4836 (Virunum)

LIBRARI CONSULARIS<sup>8, 10</sup>

C. Tocernius Maximianus		V. 375 (Neapolis)
[III. 5435; 5631]		

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Noricum 29.<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 200, n. 13.<sup>3</sup> *EE*, IV, p. 393; I, pp. 81 ff.<sup>4</sup> *EE*, IV, p. 395.<sup>5</sup> D. m. s. P. Florio P. fil. Vol. Praenestino, mil. legion. in Norico Ael. Obilab., b. trib. vixit annis XXIII. Florius Praestinus et Magia Spendi . . . filio piissim[o et sibi] v. [f.]. P. 196, n. 6.<sup>6</sup> *EE*, IV, pp. 399 f.<sup>7</sup> *EE*, IV, pp. 406 ff.; Marq. II, 548.<sup>8</sup> P. 200, n. 11.<sup>9</sup> "vet. leg. II It. p. f. Severiane e[x st]ratore cos."<sup>10</sup> *EE*, IV, pp. 425 ff.; Marq. II, 550.

PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS<sup>1</sup>OPTIONES<sup>2</sup>

M. Firmidius Spectatus <sup>3</sup>	April 11, 200	XI. 1322 (Luna)
Iul. P . . . . .		III. 11823 (Lauriacum)
Val. Vario	4th century	XI. 4787 (Spoletium)

TESSERARI<sup>4</sup>

Aur. Saturninus <sup>5</sup>		VI. 2672
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SIGNIFERI<sup>6</sup>

Aurel. I . . . . .		III. 11822 (Lauriacum)
Terent. Lucianus		V. 46 (Pola)
Val. Genialis	4th century	VI. 3637

COR(NICINES)<sup>7</sup>

Val. Saturnanus		XI. 4085 (Ocrinum)
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FRUMENTARI<sup>8</sup>

Accius Maximus		III. 4830 (Virunum)
M. Αἰρ. Ἀλέξανδρος		<i>IGR.</i> I. 29 = <i>IG.</i> XIV. 958 (Rome)
Aurelius Lucianus <sup>9</sup>		VI. 3340
M. Firmidius Spectatus <sup>10</sup>	Apr. 11, 200	XI. 1322 (Luna)
. . . . . nius [Pro]culus <sup>11</sup>		III. 4861 (Virunum)
[III. 5592] <sup>12</sup>		

CUSTODES ARMORUM<sup>13</sup>

Sacron. Verinus <sup>14</sup>		III. 5106 (S. Veit near Waldegg)
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MEDICI<sup>15</sup>

L. Caelius Arrianus		V. 4367 (Brixia)
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DUPLARI<sup>16</sup>

Aur. Secundian. <sup>17</sup>		III. 4835 (Virunum)
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IMMUNES<sup>18</sup>

Aurelius Ursinianus		III. 11816 (Fafiana)
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<sup>1</sup> P. 200, n. 10; Marq. II. 545.<sup>2</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 441 ff.<sup>3</sup> See list of frumentarii below.<sup>4</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 452 ff.; Mispoulet, *Inst. polit.* II. 352.<sup>5</sup> P. 165, n. 4.<sup>6</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 364 ff.; DS. III. 1057.<sup>7</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 376 f.<sup>8</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 455 ff.; Marq. II. 491 ff.; DS. II. 1348; *Röm. Mitt.* XX. 310 ff.<sup>9</sup> "frumentarius (*sic*) [in] legionem II Itali[cam ad] frum[entarias [res curandas]."<sup>10</sup> See list of optiones above.<sup>11</sup> See list of centurions, p. 200.<sup>12</sup> The abbreviation fr. in this inscription might be explained fr(atri) as well as fr(umentarius); cf. p. 200, n. 9.<sup>13</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 437 ff.; Marq. II. 551.<sup>14</sup> "vet. leg. II Ita., custos armor."<sup>15</sup> Marq. II. 554; DS. III. 1062; 1688 f.<sup>16</sup> Marq. II. 544; DS. II. 415.<sup>17</sup> "militi an. XXX imbello desiderato."<sup>18</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 409 ff.; Marq. II. 544; DS. III. 415 f.

## PRIVATE SOLDIERS

MILITES<sup>1</sup>

Annamatus		III. 11822 (Lauriacum)
Aur. Boniatius	Under Alexander Severus	III. p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813 (Virunum)
Aur. Iustinus		III. 5218 (Celeia)
Aur. Iustinus		III. 5567 (Bedaium)
<i>Αὐρ. Μετρωπ[ύος]</i>		<i>IGR.</i> I. 678 (Thrace)
Aurel. Tertianus		III. 4836 <i>a</i> (Virunum)
Aur. Victor		III. 11700 (Celeia)
[A]urelius . . guto <sup>2</sup>		V. 46 (Pola)
Auspiciatus		III. 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>l, m</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Bebius Acceptus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 4837 (Virunum)
Exupereus		III. 5412 (Voitsberg)
Fabianus		III. 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>n</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Firminus	Septimius Severus or later	III. 11553 (Virunum)
Fortunatus		III. 5757, 2; 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>b-d</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
T. Gallius Euphros [y]n.		V. 8277 (Aquileia)
Invenis		III. 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>o, p</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Lici. Maximinus		III. 15184 <sup>6</sup> , p. 2653 (Noricum near Poetovio)
Melissus		III. 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>q</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Nigelio		III. 5448 (Feistritz)
Optatus		III. 11642 (Schratzbach)
Patr.		III. 5757, 3 (Trojanaberg) (teg.)
Pompeianus		III. 11851 <i>a-c</i> (Heilenstein); 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>e-h</i> (Lotschitz) (teg.)
Quintianus		III. 5757, 4; 14369 <sup>2</sup> <i>i, k</i> (Lotschitz); 11850 (Heilenstein) (teg.)
Sex. Sarminius	Under Alexander Severus	III. 5663, 11806 (S. Leonhard am Forst)

<sup>1</sup> This list includes eight names occurring on legionary tegulae from the vicinity of Celeia.<sup>2</sup> V, p. 1105 wrongly gives the name as [A]urelius . . guto instead of [A]urelius . . guto.



## MILITES

Severinius Silvinius	Under Alexan- der Severus	III, p. 1046 ad n. 4791, p. 1813 (Virunum)
Valerius Priscianus	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 4856 (Virunum)
Vep(oni)us Quart[inius]	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 4857 (Virunum)
Vettius Vita[li]s		III. 5614 (Weihmörting)
. . . pitus		III. 5688 (Lentia)
. . . . .	Caracalla or Elagabalus	III. 4862 (Virunum)
[III. 4733; 4841; 13529]		

## VETERANI

Aelius Valeb[s]		III. 11816 (Fafiana)
Aur. Maternus		III. 8730 (Salonae)
M. Aur. Secundinus	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5409 (Stallhofen)
Messo[r]i[u]s Matuco		III. 5624 (Lützlberg)
Seccius Secundinus	Septimius Se- verus or later	III. 5671 (Fafiana)
Tadius Victor		III. 4853 (Virunum)
[III. 4831; 5064; 5142; 5218; 5219; 5335; 5339; 5520; 5631; 5670; 5692]		

LEGIO I NORICORUM.<sup>1</sup>

*Stations.*—The following sites were garrisoned by legio I Noricorum during the fourth century.

## 1. FAFIANA

*Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 41: praefectus legionis liburnariorum<sup>2</sup> primorum Noricorum, Fafianae.

## 2. IUENNA

Tegulae (found at Mauer-Oehling in Noricum<sup>3</sup> and also in Pannonia superior<sup>4</sup> and inferior<sup>5</sup>): figulinas Iuensianas leg. I Nor.

*Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 40: praefectus legionis primae Noricorum militum liburnariorum<sup>2</sup> cohortis quintae partis superioris, Adiuvense.

The single extant inscription of the legion was probably erected by a soldier from this division.

*CIL.* III. 4803 (Virunum): — — Ulpus Valerius specul.<sup>6</sup> leg. primae Nor. — —.

<sup>1</sup> DS. III. 1091.<sup>2</sup> P. 221.<sup>3</sup> *CIL.* III. 11848, p. 2328<sup>200</sup>.<sup>4</sup> III. 6489; 11349 *a* (Regendorf); p. 2328<sup>42</sup>, 197 (Purbach; Vienna).<sup>5</sup> III. 11349 *c* (Mitrovicz).<sup>6</sup> *EE.* IV, pp. 459 ff.

It is not possible to determine from the presence of bricks alone whether or not a given point was occupied by the legion. The fact, however, that tegulae made at Iuenna were exported to such a distance as the eastern borders of Pannonia inferior<sup>1</sup> makes it slightly more probable that those also which were stamped simply LEG I NOR<sup>2</sup> were articles of commerce rather than of local manufacture.

### OTHER LEGIONS.

There is no reason to believe that any other legions were ever stationed in Noricum.<sup>3</sup>

## II. The Legions of Raetia.

### LEGIO III ITALICA: HISTORY.<sup>4</sup>

*Formation.*—Legio III Italica was formed by M. Aurelius<sup>5</sup> in 165/169 at the same time as legio II Italica: in 170 it furnished a detail for the repairs at Salona;<sup>6</sup> by 179/180 it had arrived in Raetia and was engaged in fortifying the northern frontier.<sup>7</sup>

*Name and titles.*—The legion was at first known as III concordia;<sup>8</sup> for a short time after its arrival in Raetia as III Italica concordia,<sup>9</sup> then as III Italica alone or, less frequently,

<sup>1</sup> P. 204, n. 5; cf. p. 199, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *CIL*, III, 11847 (Mauer-Oehling); 4655 a (Schwechat, Pann. sup.).

<sup>3</sup> The following inscriptions mentioning other legions are not of such a nature as to indicate their presence in the province:

leg. I adi.	III. 4787	leg. X gem.	III. 5156 a; 5293; 5460;
I Min.	5333		5486; 5510; 5702;
II adi.	5044; 5331; 5417;		143691
	5430	XIII gem.	5223; 5336; 6525
II Aug.	5476	XIII gem.	5336; 5497
III Aug.	4855; 5630; 11714	XV Ap.	5334; 5636; 5680
V Mac.	4859; 5130	XX V. v.	5184; 5577; 11746
VI ferr.	13524	XXI rap.	4810
VI vict.	11852 (teg.)	XXII pr.	4848
VII Cl.	5202	XXX Ulp. v.	5211; 5212; 5214;
VII gem.	5579		5215; 15205 <sup>1</sup>
VII vict.	<i>Ann. Ep.</i> 1904, 187	incertae	5328; 11667
VIII Aug.	III. 4858; 5220		

See VI. 31871 (cited on p. 211, n. 6).

<sup>4</sup> *DS*, III, 1080.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *CIL*, V, 7865 f. (p. 208, n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> P. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Raetia 14, 15; cf. III. 14370<sup>10</sup> (Castra Regina; 178 A. D. ?).

<sup>8</sup> P. 197, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> III. 11989 (teg., Abusina). For the title felix see p. 187, n. 6.

with the addition of a cognomen derived from the name of the reigning emperor, Antoniniana<sup>1</sup> or Gordiana.<sup>2</sup>

*Legionary coins.*—Like legio II Italica,<sup>3</sup> the Raetic legion was named on the coinage of Septimius Severus (193 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> and of Gallienus.<sup>5</sup>

*Stations.*—The permanent camp was at Castra Regina.<sup>6</sup> Detachments sent from there helped fortify and perhaps, in some cases, garrison various other points along the Danube and the limes Raeticus, as Böhming,<sup>7</sup> Abusina,<sup>8</sup> Straubing,<sup>9</sup> etc.<sup>10</sup>

A station at Augusta Vindelicum, a place of strategic importance because of its location at the junction of two rivers and several roads, seems not improbable. Moreover, bricks have been found at Westheim, five or six miles west of the city.<sup>11</sup> The inscriptions from Augusta and vicinity<sup>12</sup> would not be conclusive in themselves.

By the time of the *Notitia dignitatum* the northern portion of Raetia had been abandoned and the camp at Reginum moved to Vallatum;<sup>13</sup> other divisions of the legion, each under a praefectus, were located at Submuntorium, at Cambodunum and in the neighboring country from Vimanía to Cassiliacum, and at Foetus and Terioli.<sup>14</sup> Still another part was in Illyricum.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Under Caracalla (211-217) or Elagabalus (218-222): III. 1178; 14207<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Under Gordian III (238-244): III. 5768; Gordiana is omitted in III. 5942 (240 A. D.).

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 197 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, IV, p. 31, nn. 262 f.; Eckhel, VII, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> Cohen, V, p. 389, nn. 487-498; Eckhel, VII, p. 402 (symbols: a stork; a bull; cf. DS. III. 1074 f.). VI.P.VI.F. and VII.P.VII.F. are still more puzzling than on the coins of leg. II Ital., because we have no knowledge that leg. III Ital. was ever called pia fidelis before the time of Gallienus.

<sup>6</sup> Tegulae: CIL. III. 6000, pp. 1051, 2328<sup>53</sup>; 386\*; Ann. Ep. 1906, 183; milestones giving the distance a l(e)g(ione): III. 5996 (201 A. D.); 5997 (195 and 215 A. D.); a large number of inscriptions from members of the legion, dating from 179-180 (cf. p. 205, n. 7) to the time of Diocletian or after (Raetia 31); Tab. Peut. III c; Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv. 17. Cf. CIL. III, p. 730.

<sup>7</sup> Raetia 15.

<sup>8</sup> Tegulae: III. 6000; 11986; 11989.

<sup>9</sup> III. 11988 (teg.).

<sup>10</sup> Bricks have also been found at Abbach and Alkofen near Castra Regina (III. 6000; 12005 (p(ia) fi(delis) ?)); Lietzheim (?) (6000); Ummendorf (p. 2328<sup>53</sup>). A find of bricks as at Abbach and Alkofen, or of inscriptions like those from Lauingen-Faimingen (5874; 5876) does not prove even a temporary occupation by legionaries; cf. Franziss, pp. 42, 284, 293, 296, 340, 343, *et passim*. Franziss's statement (p. 343) that bricks of the third legion have been discovered at Künzing (Quintianae) has not been verified. With regard to Böhming and Pfünz, see Allen, pp. 359 f.

<sup>11</sup> III. 6000, 11987.

<sup>12</sup> III. 5793 (cf. Raetia II); 5812; 5814; 5816-5818; 5823.

<sup>13</sup> Not. Dign. Occ. xxxv. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. xxxv. 18, 19, 21, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. v. 88 = 237 = vii. 53.

*Active service.*—The inscriptions prove that the third legion made a successful expedition against the Buri, possibly under Marcus or Commodus,<sup>1</sup> and took part in the German wars of 197<sup>2</sup> and 213 A. D.;<sup>3</sup> after the close of the latter campaign, some Raetic soldiers perhaps accompanied Caracalla to the East.<sup>4</sup>

LEGIO III ITALICA: OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.<sup>5</sup>

## HIGHER OFFICERS

LEGATI LEGIONIS		See Raetia 11-22
DUCES LIMITANEI		See Raetia 23-26
PRAEFFECTI		
Secundinus <sup>6</sup>	Diocletian or later	III. 14370 <sub>12</sub> (Castra Regina)
TRIBUNI LATICLAVII		
M. Annaeus Saturninus		VI. 1337
Clodianus Aelianus <sup>7</sup>		
C. Iulius Ingenuus <sup>8</sup>		V. 5032 (Tridentum)
L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus <sup>9</sup>	Under Commodus, before 190	VI. 1450
TRIBUNI (ANGUSTICLAVII) <sup>10</sup>		
C. Annius Flavianus <sup>11</sup>	Marcus and Commodus	VIII. 17900 (Thamugadi)
Gn. Pompeius Pompeianus		VI. 3529
DUCES <sup>12</sup>		
Val. Cl. Quintus <sup>13</sup>		III. 4855 (Virunum)

<sup>1</sup> *CIL.* III. 5937 (near Kelheim). Cf. p. 208, n. 4; *Sch.* I. 643, 662. <sup>2</sup> Raetia 18.

<sup>3</sup> Raetia 20.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL.* III. 14207<sup>6</sup> (Perinthus, Thrace).

<sup>5</sup> P. 199, n. 9; Arnold, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> See Raetia 31.

<sup>7</sup> "v(ir) c(larissimus)." *Pros.* I. 58, n. 456.

<sup>8</sup> "c(larissimus) i(uvenis)." *Pros.* II. 196, n. 240.

<sup>9</sup> "duci exerciti Mysiaci apud Byzantium (195/196) et apud Lugudunum (197), leg. leg. I Italic., cur. viae Latinae, item reip. Faventinorum, allecto inter praetorios, trib. pleb. candidato, quaestori urbano, trib. laticl. leg. XXII primig., item III Italicae." *Pros.* II. 346, n. 233; Lieb. *Verw.* pp. 201 f.

<sup>10</sup> That these tribunes were angusticlavii is seen from the words "equo publico" in the inscriptions relating to them.

<sup>11</sup> "praefec. cohortis IIII Raetorum, donis militarib. donatus bello Ger[ma]nico II." P. 223; *Pros.* I. 64, n. 486; PW. I. 2265, n. 44.

<sup>12</sup> P. 170 and n. 1; *Dissertat. Halinens.* IV. 405 ff.; DS. III. 1052.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 200.

## CENTURIONS

CENTURIONES<sup>1</sup>

Ael. Fortis <sup>2</sup>	181 A. D.	III. 14370 <sub>2</sub> (Böhming)
Q. Eniboudius Mon- tanus <sup>3</sup>	Under M. Aurelius	V. 7865, 7866 (Cemenelum)
Fl. Vetulenus <sup>4</sup>	Perhaps under Marcus or Commodus	III. 5937 (near Kelheim)
Iul. In[?]linus <sup>2</sup>	181 A. D.	III. 14370 <sub>2</sub> (Böhming)
C. Managnius Iustus		III. 5817 (Augusta)
C. Nonius Manlianus <sup>5</sup>		VIII. 2953 (Lambaesis)
L. Numerius L. f. Felix		II. 4162 (Tarraco)
M. Ulp. Caius <sup>6</sup>	Caracalla or Elagabalus	III. 1178 (Apuhum)
M. Ulpus Secundus <sup>7</sup>		III. 5876 (Lauingen)
Ulp. Vitalis		III. 7785 (Apuhum)
[III. 5820; 15210 <sub>1</sub> ]		

PRINCIPALES: SERVING UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS<sup>8</sup>BENEFICIARIJ CONSULARIS<sup>9</sup>

Severinus Severianus <sup>10</sup>	Under Gor- dian	III. 5768 (Brigantium)
[III. 5815]		

BENEFICIARIJ PRAEFECTI CASTRORUM<sup>11</sup>

Iul[ius Ca]pididius	III. 5953
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *CIL.* II. 18\*.<sup>2</sup> See Ractia 15.<sup>3</sup> "5 leg. III Italicae, ordinatus ex eq. Rom. ab domino Imp. M. Aurel. Antonino Aug." *EE.* IV, p. 240 on n. 67.<sup>4</sup> "I. O. M. Statori Fl. Vetulenus 7 leg. III Ital. reversus ab expedit. Burica ex voto posuit." P. 207. Allen, pp. 363 f., gives this stone as from Abusina, saying: "It is significant that although there is no evidence leading us to suppose that legionaries were ever stationed at this point [but cf. p. 206, n. 8] the legionary centurion returned here and rendered a vow for the successful issue of the expedition just as though this were his regular place of sojourn." The inscription, however, was found near Kelheim, which is on the Danube. What would be more natural than for the soldier to pay his vow on returning to the frontier of the province in which he was serving?<sup>5</sup> Cagnat, p. 109.<sup>6</sup> *CIL.* III. 1201; Jung, *Dac.* p. 95.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence for the assumption (Allen, p. 364) that an auxiliary corps was encamped at Lauingen in charge of Ulpus; cf. p. 206, n. 10.<sup>8</sup> P. 200, n. 10. Unless otherwise indicated, the remaining inscriptions listed for this legion were found at Castra Regina.<sup>9</sup> P. 200, n. 11.<sup>10</sup> " [bf.] cos."<sup>11</sup> P. 201, n. 3.

CORNICULARII TRIBUNI<sup>1</sup>

M. Aur. Amandus III. 5974 (Münster)  
[III. 14370<sub>9</sub>]

LIBRARI CONSULARIS<sup>2</sup>

Ti. Iulius Aelianus<sup>3</sup> III. 5953  
Iul. Amandus III. 5814 (Augusta)

EXACTI CONSULARIS<sup>4</sup>

T. Fl. Clemens III. 5812 (Augusta)

PRINCIPALES: NOT UNDER A PRAEPOSITUS<sup>5</sup>OPTIONES<sup>6</sup>

[D]onatus<sup>7</sup> III. 5958  
Iulius Ouvenis<sup>7, 8</sup> III. 5976 (Eastern Europe  
or Asia Minor)  
Iul. Saturninus<sup>9</sup> III. 11969

OPTIONES PRAETORI<sup>10</sup>

[III. 5803]

AQUILIFERI<sup>11</sup>

Iul. Clemen[s] III. 5816 (Augusta)

SIGNIFERI<sup>12</sup>

M. Iuveni[us . . . ]io<sup>13</sup> III. 5956  
[M]arcellinius Marce[lli]nus III. 5952  
C. Senilius Pervinc[us]<sup>13</sup> III. 5818 (Augusta)

IMAGINIFERI<sup>14</sup>

[III. 13544]

FRUMENTARI<sup>15</sup>

T. Cl. Severus V. 6869 (Alpis Poenina)

## ADLECTUS ANNONAE

C. Valerius C. f. Pap. Marianus<sup>16</sup> V. 5036 (Tridentum)

<sup>1</sup> *EE*. IV, pp. 412 ff.; Marq. II. 546; PW. IV. 1603 f.; DS. I. 1509.

<sup>2</sup> P. 200, n. 11; p. 201, n. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "libr. [cos]."

<sup>4</sup> P. 200, n. 11; *EE*. IV, pp. 431 f.; Marq. II. 551; DS. II. 873.

<sup>5</sup> P. 200, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Cauer, *EE*. IV, pp. 441 ff.; Marq. II. 545.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted by Cauer (*loc. cit.*), although indexed in *CIL*. III, p. 1140.

<sup>8</sup> Omitted in the index of names in the *Corpus*.

<sup>9</sup> We know of no legion encamped at Castra Regina except III Itali a, which is mentioned previously in this inscription.

<sup>10</sup> *EE*. IV, p. 445.

<sup>11</sup> *EE*. IV, pp. 371 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 588.

<sup>12</sup> P. 202, n. 6.

<sup>13</sup> This man was a *veteranus ex signifero*.

<sup>14</sup> *EE*. IV, pp. 372 ff.

<sup>15</sup> P. 202, n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL*. III, p. 1171: "non miles, sed civis Tridentinus equestris dignitatis."

CUSTODES ARMORUM<sup>1</sup>

Aur. Sabinus	III. 6571
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Aur. Stavianus	III. 5951
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POLLIONES<sup>2</sup>

Fl. Amabil.	III. 5949
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TUBICINES<sup>3</sup>

Sep. Impetratus <sup>4</sup>	III. 5957
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MEDICI ORDINARI<sup>5</sup>

.....	III. 6532
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[III. 5959]	
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## DUPLARI

[III. 5909]	
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IMMUNES<sup>6</sup>

Jul. Cattanus	III. 11969
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PRIVATE SOLDIERS<sup>7</sup>

## MILITES

M. Antoninus	III. 6000 <i>c</i> (teg.) <sup>8</sup>
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Aur. Patruinus	III. 6571
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Aurel. Victorinus	III. 11966
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Equester Paulus	Caracalla or	III. 14207 <sub>6</sub> (Perinthus)
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Elagabalus	
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Fl. Decoratus <sup>9</sup>	III. 5823 (Augusta)
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Fl. Marcellinus	III. 5950
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M(arcus) Ursus	III. 3309 (Sopianae)
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. . . . ant. Potens <sup>9</sup>	III. 6531
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M. Speratus	III. 6000 <i>d</i> (teg.) <sup>8</sup>
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. . . . is Val[en]en . . . . <sup>9</sup>	III. 11970
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[III. 5954; <sup>9</sup> 11957; <sup>9</sup> 11967; 11978]	
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VETERANI<sup>10</sup>

Cl. Reticus	III. 11968
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[III. 5813; 5883; 5889, p. 1050]	
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## EQUITES

Aur. Pervincian.	July 25, 240	III. 5942
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Cl. Donatus	III. 5947
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[III. 5946; 11956]	
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## VETERANI EX EQUITE

M. Aur. Militio	III. 5955
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[III. 5948]	
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<sup>1</sup> P. 202, n. 13.<sup>2</sup> DS, III. 1057.<sup>3</sup> *EE*, IV, pp. 374 ff.; Marq. II. 552.<sup>4</sup> "vet. ex leg. III Ital. m. h. m. ex t.bc."<sup>5</sup> P. 202, n. 15.<sup>6</sup> P. 202, n. 18.<sup>7</sup> Cf., perhaps, *CIL*, III. 5944.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps not genuine.<sup>9</sup> The rank is unknown, owing to the mutilation of the stone.<sup>10</sup> Cf. III. 14370<sup>2</sup> (Raetia 16).



## LEGIO III AUGUSTA.

Former soldiers of legio III Augusta were among those assembled in Raetia in the summer of 253 who proclaimed Valerian emperor.<sup>1</sup> They had returned to Africa by Oct. 22 of the same year.<sup>2</sup>

OTHER LEGIONS.<sup>3</sup>

Veterans of leg. I (Germanica) and leg. XX (Valeria victrix) in Lower Germany were sent into Raetia in 14 A. D.<sup>4</sup> Similar vexillationes may well have been temporarily quartered in the province during any active campaign, as for example, that of Caracalla in 213;<sup>5</sup> there is one probable reference to such an occurrence under M. Aurelius.<sup>6</sup>

The bricks of LEG IIII M<sup>7</sup> and LEG VIII AUG<sup>8</sup> which have been found in Raetia were probably brought from Germany.

## III. The Auxiliaries in Noricum.

The army of Noricum in 69 A. D. consisted of one ala (I Hispanorum Auriana), eight cohorts (including I Montanorum and perhaps I Asturum), and some native troops.<sup>9</sup> Before 106 A. D. ala I Hispanorum Auriana was withdrawn, but ala I Commagenorum was added, so that the total force in the province remained practically unchanged (three alae, six cohorts).<sup>10</sup> A great increase (to four alae and fourteen cohorts) had taken place by 153,<sup>11</sup> an increase which, as it surely began under either Trajan or Hadrian, and, as far as we know, affected the northeastern part of the province, may best be connected with Hadrian's policy of strengthening the

<sup>1</sup> Raetia 23.

<sup>2</sup> VIII. 2482; 2852, p. 954; see Sch. I. 811; Cagnat, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions mentioning legions camped in other provinces are rare: leg. XI Cl.: III. 5775 f.; leg. . . . gem.: III. 5778.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. Ann. i. 44, 6 (cf. i. 39, 2). Ohlenschläger's suggestion (*Prog.* p. 7 and n. 3) that the 7 leg. XX of CIL III. 5577 (Rott) was one of this detachment is improbable; the omission of the legionary cognomen and the province Britain is not conclusive proof that the inscription is early, while the use of ligatures, the orthography (e. g. Niceforu[s]), and the infrequency in this region of monuments of the early empire, all militate against his hypothesis.

<sup>5</sup> VI, p. 551, lines 20 ff.

<sup>6</sup> VI. 31871: --- praeposit. v[exillationum per Ital.] et Raet. et Noric. [bello Germanico ---].

<sup>7</sup> III. 1199 [Neuburg].

<sup>8</sup> III. 11991 (Aalen; Stuttgart); 380\* (Salzbrunn).

<sup>9</sup> Tac. Hist. iii. 5; see pp. 171, 213 ff.

<sup>10</sup> P. 212; D. CIV.

<sup>11</sup> P. 173, n. 3; D. LXIV.

Danubian fortresses of Pannonia superior.<sup>1</sup> That Hadrian visited Noricum is proved by senatorial coins marked EXERCITVS NORICVS which represent him in the act of addressing troops.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of a legion<sup>3</sup> soon reduced the auxiliaries to a position of secondary importance; still there is some slight indication of a later (third century?) addition to their strength.<sup>4</sup>

#### ALAE IN NORICUM.

*Ala Antoniniana* in 211/222 was under the command of the legatus leg. II Ital.<sup>5</sup>

*Ala Augusta* was at Virunum in the third century;<sup>6</sup> it is perhaps the same as ala I Augusta Thracum.<sup>7</sup>

*Ala celerum* may have been at Virunum at a late date.<sup>8</sup>

*Ala I Commagenorum*, which in 106 A. D. was in Noricum,<sup>9</sup> must at some time have garrisoned Comagena.

*Ala II Flavia pia fidelis miliaria*: see p. 215.

*Ala I Hispanorum Auriana*<sup>10</sup> is known to have served in Noricum in 69 A. D.<sup>11</sup> and from 107 to 166 in Raetia<sup>12</sup> in or near Weissenburg.<sup>13</sup>

*Ala I Augusta Thracum*: see p. 216.

Alae stationed in the Danube provinces, Britain, Upper Germany, and Mauretania, are mentioned in the inscriptions of Noricum.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sch. I. 610 f.

<sup>2</sup>Eckhel, VI, pp. 499 f.; Cohen, II, p. 155, nn. 565-567.

<sup>3</sup>P. 196.

<sup>4</sup>P. 213. Kämmler, pp. 57 ff., gives a useful summary of the fortified sites in Noricum in the third century.

<sup>5</sup>Noricum 31; PW. I. 1229, cf. 1225, 4; *Diz. Ep.* I. 498.

<sup>6</sup>*CIL.* III. 4812 (238 A. D.); 4834; PW. I. 1232 c.

<sup>7</sup>P. 216.

<sup>8</sup>*CIL.* III. 4832, 11506; Aggaeo, exarcho alae celerum, viro sagittandi peritissimo, vi militum interento, Monna marito amantissimo. PW. I. 1236 f.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 150.

<sup>9</sup>D. CIV; *CIL.* III. 5224 (Celeia); 5091 (Wolfsberg); 14365<sup>24</sup> (Seitz); PW. I. 1238 f.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 535; Nowotny, p. 271.

<sup>10</sup>Ohl, *Prog.* pp. 40-42; PW. I. 1248; *CIL.* V. 4095.

<sup>11</sup>Noricum 3; *CIL.* III. 11749 (near Semriach, "litt. saec. primi") (omitted in PW.).

<sup>12</sup>D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. LII (under Hadrian?); *CIL.* III. 11911 (Emmezheim, 153 A. D.); [D. CXI] (162 A. D.); D. LXXIII and *CIL.* V. 8660 (Concordia) (166 A. D.); VI. 3654.

<sup>13</sup>III. 11994 (teg.); 5925 (?); D. XXXV (Weissenburg); *CIL.* III. 11911 (Emmezheim); 5899 (Nassenfels).

<sup>14</sup>Ala II Asturum; III. 15205<sup>9</sup>; I Batavor. ∞: 5331; I (Fl. Aug.) Britannica ∞ (c. R. bis torq. ob. virt.): 5211; 5212; 5214; 5215; I (Vesp.) Dardanor.: 5014; I (Hispanor.) Arvacorum:

## COHORTS IN NORICUM.

*Cohors I Aelia (Severiana) sagittariorum miliaria equitata* during the reign of Alexander Severus,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps considerably later,<sup>2</sup> garrisoned the frontier fortress of Astura.<sup>3</sup>

*Cohors I Asturum*<sup>4</sup> was in Noricum from 106 A. D.<sup>5</sup> until the third century at least,<sup>6</sup> giving its name to Astura.<sup>7</sup>

The *co[h(ors) . . .] Breuc(orum)* which was in Noricum during the reign of Philip (244/249)<sup>8</sup> may be identical with the *cohors V Breucorum* serving in Pannonia in 80 A. D.,<sup>9</sup> although neither of the inscriptions of the latter found in Noricum<sup>10</sup> in itself necessarily implies the presence of the cohort in that province.

*Cohors I Aelia Brittonum miliaria* was located in Noricum in the third century.<sup>11</sup>

*Cohors I Flavia Brittonum* came into Noricum from Dalmatia<sup>12</sup> before or during the third century.<sup>13</sup>

*Cohors I Montanorum*, at Virunum in the early empire,<sup>14</sup> towards the end of the first century was sent to Pannonia.<sup>15</sup>

5629; I (Pannonior.) Tamp(iana): 5531; 5632; II Pannonior.: 5211; 5212; [5214;] 5215; III Thrac(um): 5332; I Tung(rorum) Frontonian(a): 5331 (III, p. 2489, read "felicis Tungri, 12030, 5" for "12030, 3"); alae prov. Mauretan. Caes.: 5211. Cf. p. 165, n. 4.

Equites of unknown troops are referred to in III. 4753; 5057; 5308; 5652; 11791.

<sup>1</sup> III. 5647 (230 A. D.).

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL*. III. 5645-47; 11857 (teg.). It had formerly been stationed in Pannonia superior, PW. IV. 329 f.

<sup>4</sup> PW. IV. 245 f.; Nowotny, pp. 271 ff.

<sup>5</sup> D. CIV.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL*. VI. 3588: L. Cuspius L. f. Cla. Iuvai Lautus Norico, mil. coh. I Asturum  $\mathfrak{E}$ . Macriniana (217-218 ?) ---. (Cichorius's conjecture as to the date (69-70?) is incorrect, if Macriniana is here an honorary cognomen.) Other inscriptions of the cohort are: III. 5539 (Iuvavum); 4839; 11508 (Virunum); 5330 (Solva); 11708 (S. Martin); 10507 (Aquincum); XI. 6337 (Pisaurum). The restoration of the numeral in the last one (cf. PW. IV. 247) is fairly certain, both on account of the spacing and because the officer mentioned served next in coh. I Fl. Britton. which was in Noricum at this period. Jung, *Dac.* p. xv.

<sup>7</sup> Nowotny, p. 273.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*. III. 5613, 11781 (Weihmörting).

<sup>9</sup> D. XIII; PW. IV. 259.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL*. III. 5086 (Vall. Lavantina); 5472 (Knittelfeld). The cohort is also mentioned in X. 6102.

<sup>11</sup> III. 4812 (Virunum, 238 A. D.); IX. 5357 (Firmum). See n. 13.

<sup>12</sup> PW. IV. 263; *Diz. Ep.* I. 1042 f.; Jung, *Dac.* p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> *CIL*. III. 4811, 11501 (Virunum, 267 A. D.); 5608 (Namara-Arlapa); XI. 6337 (Pisaurum). III. 5455 (Pfannberg) may belong here or with the preceding cohort.

<sup>14</sup> III. 4844; 4846; 4847; 4849; 11554; 4838 (?).

<sup>15</sup> PW. IV. 316 f. *Ann. Ep.* 1903, 289 (Ravna) may refer to any one of the cohorts of this name.

At the time of the *Notitia dignitatum* a cohort was stationed at Boiodurum and another at Cannabiaca.<sup>1</sup>

Some cohorts belonging in other provinces are named in Norican inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

#### LOCAL MILITIA OF NORICUM.

Besides the regular auxiliary forces just enumerated, a body of local militia (*Noricorum inventus*) was in existence in 69 A. D.<sup>3</sup>

#### OTHER AUXILIARIES OF THE LATER EMPIRE.

The *Notitia dignitatum* gives the names of six bodies of equites stationed at various points on the northern frontier.<sup>4</sup> Equites Dalmatae Aquesiani comitatenses won a victory in Noricum in 310.<sup>5</sup> The latest dated inscription of the province<sup>6</sup> (370 A. D.) records the completion of a fortress at Ips by milites auxiliares Lauriacenses.

#### IV. The Auxiliaries in Raetia.<sup>7</sup>

Very little is known of the army of Raetia before the end of the first century; light-armed native troops were there from the time of Augustus,<sup>8</sup> and other auxiliary forces by 69,<sup>9</sup> the total presumably being about equal to that of Noricum.<sup>10</sup> Between 82 and 107, on at least two different occasions (82/90, 90/107), troops were brought from Germany, Pannonia, and even Africa,<sup>11</sup> so that the diploma of 107,<sup>12</sup> fortunately preserved entire, assigns to Raetia four alae and eleven cohorts. The next half-century or so (Trajan to Marcus) shows no appreciable change in the strength of the army—three alae and thirteen cohorts are named in the diploma of 166<sup>13</sup>—although there is considerable shifting of soldiers from Germany to Raetia and from Raetia to Noricum

<sup>1</sup> *Occ.* xxxiv. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Coh. I B(a)etas(iorum) c. R.*: *CIL.* III. 5331; II Gallorum: 5211; 5212; 5214; 5215; III Hispan(orum): 15205<sup>1</sup>; I Thrac(um eq.): 11541; I Ub(iorum): 13539 (teg.). III. 4859 is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> *Tac. Hist.* iii. 5 (p. 171); see p. 219, n. 7 and *MB.* VII. 302 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Occ.* xxxiv. 31-36: equites promoti, Ad Mauros and Comagena; eqq. sagittarii, Lentia and Lacufelix; eqq. Dalmatae, Arlapa and Augustana (= Trigisamum); cf., perhaps, *CIL.* III. 5821.

<sup>5</sup> III. 5565, 11771 (Bedaum); cf. Noricum 34.

<sup>6</sup> III. 5670 a. <sup>7</sup> Arnold, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>8</sup> P. 219, n. 8; Jung. *Dac.* p. 127, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 215, 217.

<sup>10</sup> P. 211.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 215 f., 218 f.

<sup>12</sup> D. XXXV.

<sup>13</sup> D. LXXIII; for the alae, cf. also *CIL.* V. 8660. D. CXI (162) seems to give the same list as D. LXXIII; D. LXXIX (after 145) is too fragmentary to be of value.

and Pannonia.<sup>1</sup> *EXERCITVS RAETICVS* occurs on bronze coins of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> After the arrival of *legio III Italica*,<sup>3</sup> some auxiliaries were removed from the province.<sup>4</sup>

### ALAE IN RAETIA.<sup>5</sup>

*Ala I Flavia Commagenorum* may have been in the north of Raetia for a short time in the middle of the second century.<sup>6</sup>

*Ala I Flavia fidelis Gemelliana miliaria*<sup>7</sup> was in Raetia 162–166 A. D.<sup>8</sup> and was stationed in the north, perhaps at Kösching.<sup>9</sup>

*Ala II Flavia pia fidelis miliaria*<sup>10</sup> served at Aalen<sup>11</sup> in Raetia from the latter part of the first century until some date between 107<sup>12</sup> and 153,<sup>13</sup> when it moved to Noricum. It is probably identical with *ala II Flavia gemina*, which was in Germany until 82/90;<sup>14</sup> hence the title *pia fidelis* may have been won in 88 during the revolt of Saturninus.

*Ala I Hispanorum Auriana*: see p. 212.

*Ala I Flavia Raetorum* was at *Quint[i]anae* (Künzing) in the late empire.<sup>15</sup>

*Ala II Valeria Sequanorum* in the early part of the fifth century garrisoned Vimania.<sup>16</sup>

*Ala I Flavia singularium civium Romanorum pia fidelis*<sup>17</sup> formed a part of Vitellius's army,<sup>18</sup> probably stationed in Raetia.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 215 f.    <sup>2</sup> Eckhel, VI, p. 509; Cohen, II, p. 156, nn. 575–582.    <sup>3</sup> P. 205.    <sup>4</sup> Pp. 218, 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Ala I Siliana* torq. c. R.: *CIL*, III, 5775 f. (Abudiacum), served in Dacia (PW, I, 1261).

<sup>6</sup> *CIL*, III, 5906, 11907 (Kösching, 141 A. D.); 11901 (Faimingen); not mentioned in the Raetian diplomata of 107, 162, or 166.

<sup>7</sup> V. 538 names a decurion and *Ann. Ep.* 1901, 101 (Oldenburg) a veteran, of *ala I Fl. fid.* who possibly belonged to this *ala*.

<sup>8</sup> D. CXI; D. LXXXIII; *CIL*, V, 8660; it is generally stated, e. g., in Urban, p. 19; PW, I, 1247, that this *ala* served in Raetia from 64 on; it is, however, omitted in D. XXXV of the year 107, while the diploma of 64 (D. III) was found in Noricum (at Geiselbrechting), not in Raetia, and does not state the location of the troop.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL*, III, 11908; cf. 11936 (Pfänz).

<sup>10</sup> PW, I, 1241 f.; *Diz. Ep.* III, 154 f.; add *Ann. Ep.* 1905, 128.

<sup>11</sup> *ORL*, Abt. B, no. 66; *CIL*, III, 14371 1, 2 (teg.).

<sup>12</sup> *CIL*, VI, 3255; D. XXXV (107 A. D.); *CIL*, III, 5822; 5823 (Augusta, not before M. Aurelius).

<sup>13</sup> D. LXIV; p. 173, n. 3.    <sup>14</sup> D. XIV; D. XXI.    <sup>15</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv, 23.    <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 33.

<sup>17</sup> PW, I, 1261 f.; *Ann. Ep.* 1890, 151 (Concordia, under M. Aurelius).

<sup>18</sup> Tac. *Hist.* iv, 70; p. 171.

<sup>19</sup> The Raetic auxiliaries had supported Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* iii, 5; i, 70, where the fact comes out that Caecina anticipated no opposition in Raetia), but by 70 must have transferred their allegiance to Vespasian, for Sextilius Felix apparently met no resistance in his march through Raetia (see n. 18). Now this *ala* appears first in history under the command

It afterwards supported Vespasian,<sup>1</sup> from whom it secured the name Flavia. After fighting in Germany in 70 against the Treveri and the Batavi,<sup>2</sup> the ala stayed in Germania superior until after 90 A. D.<sup>3</sup> winning the title *pia fidelis*; then before 107 it returned to Raetia<sup>4</sup> where it remained until the third century.<sup>5</sup> Its camp in that province was probably at Pförling.<sup>6</sup>

*Ala II Valeria singularis* occupied Vallatum under the later empire.<sup>7</sup>

*Ala I Augusta Thracum*, which was in existence in 97/98 A. D.,<sup>8</sup> was in Raetia by 107,<sup>9</sup> and was sent to Trigrisamum in Noricum before 140/144.<sup>10</sup> It gave the name Augustana to Trigrisamum.<sup>11</sup>

#### COHORTS IN RAETIA.<sup>12</sup>

*Cohors II Aquilatorum equitata*<sup>13</sup> between 107<sup>14</sup> and 162<sup>15</sup> moved from Germania superior<sup>16</sup> to Raetia, where it was located at Castra Regina.<sup>17</sup>

*Cohors III Batarorum miliaria (equitata?)*, in Raetia in 107 A. D.,<sup>14</sup> was ordered to Pannonia inferior by Trajan or Hadrian.<sup>15</sup>

of Iulius Briganticius, whose surname seems to be connected with the name of the Raetic tribe Brigantes (p. 165, n. 4), and it apparently joined the German army at the same time as Sextilius Felix, though it was not with him in Noricum. May it not therefore have been in Raetia and come with him from there?

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*. V. 875; cf. p. 215, n. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Tac. Hist.* v. 20, 21; cf. p. 215, n. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Not (as Cichorius says) sent to Raetia at the same time as ala II Fl. gemina; see p. 215 and D. XXI.

<sup>4</sup> D. XXXV (107 A. D.); D. CXI (162 A. D.); D. LXXIII and *CIL*. V. 8660 (166 A. D.).

<sup>5</sup> III. 5938, 11943 (Untersaal, 231 A. D.).

<sup>6</sup> III. 11909; 5912 (141 A. D.). Cf. n. 5 and III. 11995 (teg., Castra Regina).

<sup>7</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 26.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*. V. 7425, under Nerva, not Trajan, as Cichorius asserts in *PW*. I. 1263.

<sup>9</sup> D. XXXV; cf., perhaps, *CIL*. III. 5819 (Augusta).

<sup>10</sup> III. 5654; 11796; also 4806; 4839 (Virunum); 5340 (Solva); IX. 5357 (the cursus of a prefect who had formerly been trib. coh. I Aeliae Britton., see p. 213); *Jung, Tac.* p. xv. Cf. ala Augusta. p. 212.

<sup>11</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Cohors classica, *CIL*. III. 5775, 5776 (Abudiacum), did not belong in the province.

<sup>13</sup> *PW*. IV. 243; *Diz. Ep.* I. 593 f. (where read "nel 166 in Raetia").

<sup>14</sup> D. XXXV.

<sup>15</sup> D. CXI.

<sup>16</sup> D. XXI; *Ann. Ep.* 1903, 93 (teg., Arnsburg).

<sup>17</sup> D. LXXIII (166 A. D.); *CIL*. III. 6537, 11993 (teg.); 11972 (?).

<sup>18</sup> *PW*. IV. 252 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 982.



*Cohors IX Batavorum miliaria equitata expl(oratorum)*<sup>1</sup> came into Raetia between 107<sup>2</sup> and 162;<sup>3</sup> it was encamped at Weissenburg,<sup>4</sup> and later at Passau (Batava Castra).<sup>5</sup>

*Cohors III*<sup>6</sup> and *cohors V*<sup>7</sup> *Bracaraugustanorum* served in Raetia in the second century;<sup>8</sup> the latter perhaps gave its name to Quintianae (Künzing).

*Cohors I Breucorum quingenaria Valeria victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata (equitata?)*:<sup>9</sup> in Raetia from 107<sup>10</sup> to 211<sup>11</sup> or longer; from the reign of Pius in camp at Pfünz;<sup>12</sup> under the charge of a 7 leg. III Ital. helped fortify Böhming in 181 A. D.<sup>13</sup>

*Cohors III Britannorum*<sup>14</sup> was in Raetia throughout the empire, being stationed at Abusina.<sup>15</sup> Traces have been discovered also at Theilenhofen<sup>16</sup> and near Castra Regina.<sup>17</sup> At some time during the first century,<sup>18</sup> perhaps in 69/70,<sup>19</sup> it was encamped in North Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 216, n. 18. *IG*. XIV. 2433 (Massilia).

<sup>2</sup> D. XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> [D. CXI]; cf. D. LXXIII.

<sup>4</sup> *ORL*. Abt. B, no. 72, p. 45; Taf. XIII. 4 = *CIL*. III. 11918. Line 4 was formerly read *ex p(rovincia) B(ritannia)*, for a discussion of which see *Class. Rev.* XVIII. 459; XIX. 58 (the early date proposed in the latter article is unlikely in view of the absence of the cohort in D. XXXV).

<sup>5</sup> *Nol. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. n. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps previously in Germany, *CIL*. VI. 3539.

<sup>8</sup> D. XXXV; D. LXXIII; *CIL*. VI. 1822; 3228; other inscriptions of uncertain reference are enumerated in PW. IV. 256 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 1024.

<sup>9</sup> PW. IV. 257 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 1026.

<sup>10</sup> D. XXXV; [D. CXI]; D. LXXIII.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL*. III. 11934; 11935.

<sup>12</sup> III. 11930; 11931 (138/161 A. D.); 11933, p. 2328<sup>52</sup> (183-185) (Raetia 16); 11934, 11935 (211 A. D.); 11929; 11932; [11936]. 11937-11939, p. 2328<sup>201</sup>; 11940 a; 15210, may be placed here with some degree of probability.

<sup>13</sup> III. 14370<sup>2</sup>; cf. pp. 208, 189.

<sup>14</sup> Much confusion in the notes and indices to *CIL*. III and elsewhere, is caused by the absence of system in expanding abbreviations for Britannorum, Brittonum, Britannica, and Breucorum; see PW. III. 861 f.; IV. 261 f.; *Diz. Ep.* I. 1042.

<sup>15</sup> D. XXXV; D. LXXIX; D. LXXIII; *CIL*. III. 5935 (211 A. D.); [11950, p. 2288] (212, not 213 A. D., as in the Corpus); [11944] (219 A. D. ?); 11996 (teg.); 14111 g; *Nol. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 25; Jung, *Dac.* p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL*. III. 13546 (teg.); C III BR. See PW. IV. 261; *ORL*. Abt. B, no. 71 a, pp. 11, 17 on the possibility of understanding a reference to coh. III Br(acaraugustanorum) or Br(ittonum) instead of Br(itannorum).

<sup>17</sup> *CIL*. III. 14119 (Kumpfmühl).

<sup>18</sup> V. 7717 (Augusta Bagiennorum); see also PW. IV. 325 on Pais, *CIL*. V. Addit. 610, 611.

<sup>19</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 70.



*Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum miliaria*<sup>1</sup> served in Raetia 162–166 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Tegulae have been found at Kösching, Pföding, Abusina, Castra Regina, and Straubing.<sup>3</sup>

*Co[h(ors) . . . c]ivium Romano[r(um)]* was located in Raetia, perhaps in the latter part of the first century; its identification is quite uncertain.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors IIII Gallorum* was in Raetia 107–166 A. D.<sup>5</sup>

*Cohors VI Lusitanorum*, otherwise unknown, is placed in Raetia by a newly discovered Greek inscription<sup>6</sup> of the second century.<sup>7</sup> As it is not included in the Raetian diplomata, it was probably brought to the province after 166 to take the place of coh. VII Lusit. eq.

*Cohors VII Lusitanorum equitata*<sup>8</sup> towards the end of the first century was transferred to Raetia from Numidia;<sup>9</sup> it returned to Africa after 166 A. D.<sup>10</sup>

*Cohors III Herculea Pannoniorum* was at Caelium in the time of the *Notitia dignitatum*.<sup>11</sup>

*Cohors Herculea Pannoniorum* occupied Arbor Felix<sup>12</sup> in the late empire.<sup>13</sup>

*Cohors V Valeria Phrygum* in the fifth century held Phiniana.<sup>14</sup>

*Cohors I Raetorum*<sup>15</sup> was in Raetia 107–166 A. D., perhaps at Schierenhof.<sup>16</sup> It is not known whether this was the same as the cohors I Herculea Raetorum which was at Parrodunum in the later empire.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*. VIII. 2394, 2395; 17904; *PW*. IV. 267; *Diz. Ep.* II. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *D. CX1*; *CIL*. III. 5973, 11976 (Straubing); *D. LXXIII*; *CIL*. III. 5911 (?) (Otling).

<sup>3</sup> III. 6001, 11992, p. 2328<sup>53</sup> ad n. 11999<sup>2</sup>, p. 2328<sup>202</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> IX. 5362; *PW*. IV. 303.

<sup>5</sup> *D. XXXV*; [*D. LXXIX*]; *D. LXXIII*; *CIL*. VIII. 9374. Of the various praefecti coh. IIII Gall. who are enumerated in *PW*. IV. 290 f., *CIL*. IX. 5357 gives one who may be placed here with some degree of probability, inasmuch as his entire remaining career was spent in North Italy, Noricum, and Raetia, see pp. 213, 216.

<sup>6</sup> *IGR*. III. 56=1414 (Prusias, Bithynia). The note on III. 56 is in error with regard to the number of the cohort.

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXV. 83, n. 214.

<sup>8</sup> *PW*. IV. 313 f.; Cagnat, pp. 250 f.

<sup>9</sup> *D. XXXV* (107 A. D.).

<sup>10</sup> *D. LXXIII*.

<sup>11</sup> *Occ.* xxxv. 30; *PW*. IV. 323.

<sup>12</sup> A Roman camp at Arbor Felix is assured for the year 377 by Ammian. xxxi. 10. 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 34.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>15</sup> *PW*. IV. 326. *CIL*. VI. 1625; VIII. 9990; XII. 4232 may refer either to this cohort or to coh. I Raet. (eq.), p. 223. *D. LXXIX* has either [I] or [II] Raet. *CIL*. III. 11924 is quite uncertain.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL*. III. 13547, p. 2328<sup>202</sup> (teg.). Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxv. 28.

*Cohors II Raetorum*:<sup>1</sup> in the province 107–166 A. D.;<sup>2</sup> camp apparently at Straubing.<sup>3</sup>

*Cohors VI Valeria Raetorum* occupied Venaxamodurum at the time of the *Notitia dignitatum*.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors III Thracum veterana* and *cohors III Thracum cirium Romanorum* were in Raetia, 107–166 A. D.<sup>5</sup> One of these came from Pannonia between 84<sup>6</sup> and 107.

#### LOCAL MILITIA OF RAETIA<sup>7</sup>

Light-armed native troops, during the first century supplemented the regularly organized auxiliaries.<sup>8</sup>

#### OTHER AUXILIARIES OF THE LATE PERIOD.

The following entries in the *Notitia dignitatum* give information about other troops in Raetia:

- (*Occ.* xxxv. 14) equites stablesiani seniores, Augustanis.
- (15) equites stablesiani iuniores, Ponte A[e]ni, nunc Febian[i]s.
- (16) equites stablesiani iuniores, Submuntorio.
- (20) praefectus militum Ursariensium, Guntiae.
- (31) tribunus gentis per Raetias deputatae, Teriolis.

#### Summary: The Defenses of Raetia, 150–200 A. D.

In the following table covering the latter half of the second century an attempt is made to present a concise statement of the location of troops in Raetia, such as is given for a later date by the *Notitia dignitatum*. The period chosen, from Antoninus Pius to Septimius Severus, is the one of greatest importance in the military history of the Upper Danube—the period of construction, at least in stone, of the majority of the castles along the limes Raeticus. The evidence is unfortunately too scanty to permit of a similar schedule for the army in Noricum.

<sup>1</sup> PW, IV, 327. *CIL*, V, 3358 gives the name of a praefectus either of this cohort or of coh. II Raet. c. R., p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> D. XXXV; D. CXI; D. LXXIII. <sup>3</sup> *CIL*, III, 11997 (teg.). <sup>4</sup> *Occ.* xxxv. 27; cf. p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> D. XXXV; D. LXXIII; *CIL*, III, 5880 (Haunsheim); perhaps V, 2841. PW, IV, 339 f.

<sup>6</sup> D. XVI.

<sup>7</sup> See *Hermes*, XIX, 219 ff., especially p. 222, n. 4; XXII, 547 ff.; *MB*, VII, 326 ff.; Allen, pp. 369 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 1041: --- evocat[o] gesatorum DC Raetorum castello Ircavio --- (Augustan age); IX, 3044, see Raetia 1 (before 19 A. D.); V, 536; Tac. *Hist.* i. 68: --- Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita (69 A. D.).

## ON THE LIMES RAETIAE AND THE UPPER DANUBE.

CASTLE		ORL. LIEF.	AREA IN SQUARE METERS <sup>1</sup>	GARRISON	NOTES
No.	Name				
64	Schierenhof	7	20,410	coh. I Raet.	Till 107/153
65	Unterböbingen	1	20,043	coh. ?	
66	Aalen	23	60,740	ala II Fl. p. f. ∞	
66a	Urspring	24	17,874	coh. ?	
66b	Heidenheim	13	52,845	?	
66c	Faimingen		59,532	? ala I Fl. Comm.	Till 141/162; cf. Kösching
67	Buch	10	20,950	coh. ?	Cf. Abusina
67a	Halheim	15	6,724	vexillatio ?	
68	Ruffenhofen	4	37,528	?	
69	Dambach	15	21,505	coh. ?	
70	Gnotzheim		22,475	coh. ?	
71	Gunzenhausen		6,800	vexillatio ?	
71a	Theilenhofen	24	27,440	coh. III Br(?).	
72	Weissenburg	26	30,964	ala I Hisp. Aur.	
73	Pfünz	14	27,390	coh. I Breuc.	
73a	Böhming		7,410	vexil. leg. III Ital.	
74	Kösching		50,000	vexil. coh. I Breuc. ? ala I Fl. Comm.	Till 141/162; cf. Faimingen After 107/162
75	Pföding	16	38,774	ala I Fl. fid. Gem. ∞	
76	Abusina		18,000	ala I Fl. sing. c. R. coh. III Britannor. ? leg. III Ital.	

## ON THE DANUBE BELOW ABUSINA.

CASTLE	AREA IN SQUARE METERS	GARRISON	NOTES
Castra Regina	237,000	leg. III Ital. coh. II Aq. eq. ? coh. III Br(?).	Cf. Abusina Cf. Pföding
Straubing		? ala I Fl. sing. c. R. coh. II. Raet.	
Künzing	23,265	? leg. III Ital.	Previously at Weissenburg
Passau		coh. V Bracar. coh. IX Bat. ∞ eq. expl.	

<sup>1</sup>The maximum size of a garrison is of course determined by the size of the camp, one designed for a cohort (approximately 500 men) being about 20,000 square meters. See ORL. and Franziss, pp. 132 ff.

## IN CENTRAL RAETIA.

CASTLE	GARRISON
Augusta	? leg. III Ital.

## LOCATION UNKNOWN.

GARRISON	NOTES
Coh. III Bracar. Coh. I Fl. Canath.	Cf. Theilenhofen Tegulae at Kösching, Pfö- ring, Abusina, Castra Regina, Straubing
Coh. IIII Gall. Coh. VII (later VI) Lusit. Coh. III Thr. vet. Coh. III Thr. c. R. Local militia	

## V. The Fleet.

## THE FLEET ON THE DANUBE.

The Upper Danube frontier was patrolled by the *classis Panonica*,<sup>1</sup> which was created before 50 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and had its headquarters at Carnuntum. Under the later empire, two subdivisions of this fleet, *classis Lauriacensis* and *classis Arlapensis et Maginensis*, were stationed, each under a *praefectus*, at Lauriacum and at Arlapa and Comagena respectively.<sup>3</sup> Marines (*milites liburnarii*) belonging to *legio II Italica* at Ioviacum and *legio I Noricorum* at Fafiana and at Iuenna near the Drave, co-operated with them.<sup>4</sup>

THE FLEET ON LAKE CONSTANCE.<sup>5</sup>

Tiberius won a naval victory on Lake Constance while engaged in conquering the Vindelici (August 1, 15 B. C.).<sup>6</sup> There is no further record of a fleet on the lake until the "*praefectus numeri*<sup>7</sup> *bar[bari]cariorum, Confluentibus sive Brecantia*" of the *Notitia dignitatum*,<sup>8</sup> nor is there any reason to believe that such existed while the Roman authority in southern Raetia remained undisputed.

<sup>1</sup> PW. III. 2646 ff.; *Diz. Ep.* II. 274.<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xii. 30.<sup>3</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv. 42 f.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 37, 40 f.; pp. 198, 204.<sup>5</sup> PW. III. 2648.<sup>6</sup> Strabo, vii. 1. 5; Dio, liv. 22. 4; Hor. *Carm.* iv. 14. 34; Sch. l. 215.<sup>7</sup> *Hermes*, XIX. 221, n. 3.<sup>8</sup> *Occ.* xxxv. 32.

## VI. Auxiliaries Raised in Noricum and Raetia.

From the earliest times the tribes inhabiting Noricum and Raetia had a reputation for fierceness and bravery in war.<sup>1</sup> Noric equites fought under the Roman standard, even during the republic:<sup>2</sup> one cohort and one ala Noricorum are known in the first century of the empire and later. Norici more commonly, however, served in praetorian and urban cohorts, as equites singulares, or as legionaries.<sup>3</sup>

Raetic alae, five or more in number, are mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*, and at least seventeen cohorts of Raeti and Vindelici are certain; some were organized by Augustus or Tiberius,<sup>4</sup> and all about which we have information were in existence before the time of the Antonines. Two or three of these cohorts served in Raetia,<sup>4</sup> two or three others in Asia Minor,<sup>4</sup> five in Germania superior,<sup>5</sup> and four in Pannonia or on the lower Danube.<sup>6</sup>

## ALAE FROM NORICUM.

*Ala Noricorum*<sup>7</sup> in the first century was in Mainz,<sup>8</sup> but before 74<sup>9</sup> was sent to Cologne,<sup>10</sup> and later to Calcar.<sup>11</sup> Traces elsewhere are quite uncertain.<sup>12</sup>

## COHORTS FROM NORICUM.

*Cohors I Noricorum equitata*<sup>13</sup> was located in Pannonia<sup>14</sup> (after the division of the province, in Pannonia inferior<sup>15</sup>) from 80 to 167 certainly, and probably as late as the reign of Caracalla.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Hor. *Carm.* iv. 14; Strabo, iv. 6.8; Vell. ii. 95. 2; App. *Illyr.* 15; Flor. ii. 22 (iv. 12); Dio, l. 28. 4; liv. 22; Priscian, *Periieg.* 314.

<sup>2</sup> Caes. *B. C.* i. 18. 5.

<sup>3</sup> P. 165, n. 4; *Hermes*, XIX. 51 f.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 223 f.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 223-225.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. n. 5; p. 165, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> PW. I. 1252.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*. XIII. 7029; 7030.

<sup>9</sup> It is omitted in the diplomata of Upper Germany beginning with D. XI of the year named.

<sup>10</sup> *Bonn. Jahrb.* LXXXI. 102; LXXXII. 21; *CIRh.* 285 (Durnomagus); *Ann. Ep.* 1904, 104; 1906, 99.

<sup>11</sup> *CIRh.* 168; 170; 175; 176; 179; 187; 191.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL*. III. 237 (Zela, Pontus); 10791 (Seisenberg, Pann. sup.).

<sup>13</sup> III. 10279 (Mohács, Pann. inf.); PW. IV. 319 f.

<sup>14</sup> D. XIII (80 A. D.); D. XVI (84 A. D.); D. XVII (85 A. D.); *CIL*. IX. 5363, 5364.

<sup>15</sup> D. LVIII (under Pius); LXXIV (167 A. D.). None of the inscriptions from Pannonia which has been referred to this cohort is certain (cf. *CIL*. III. 3300; on III. 3398 see PW. IV. 315); the fragment from Raetia, *CIL*. III. 14370<sup>13</sup> (Castr Regina) is equally doubtful.

## LOCAL MILITIA FROM NORICUM.

See p. 214 for troops stationed in Noricum.

It is possible that a vexil(latio) Raetor(um) et Noricor(um) which served at Mancunium in Britain was organized as local militia.<sup>1</sup>

## ALAE FROM RAETIA.

*Ala I Flavia Raetorum* saw service in Raetia, see p. 215.

[*Alae II, III, IIII Raetorum*] are known only from the existence of ala V Raetorum.

*Ala V Raetorum* was at Scenae Veteranorum in Egypt during the late empire.<sup>2</sup>

COHORTS FROM RAETIA.<sup>3</sup>

*Cohors I Raetorum* was stationed in Raetia, see p. 218.

*Cohors I Raetorum equitata* served in Cappadocia under Hadrian.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors II Raetorum*: in Raetia; cf. p. 219.

*Cohors II Raetorum civium Romanorum* was in Germania<sup>5</sup> superior<sup>6</sup> throughout the empire; it probably was one of the cohorts which fought at Idistaviso in 16 A. D.;<sup>7</sup> its station was at Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden)<sup>8</sup> until about the time of Hadrian, when it moved to Saalburg.<sup>9</sup>

[*Cohortes III Raetorum*] are known only from the existence of the cohorts with higher numbers.

*Cohors IIII Raetorum*<sup>10</sup> formed part of the army of Moesia superior in 93 A. D.;<sup>11</sup> it also fought in the second German war of M. Aurelius and Commodus.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VII. 212; cf. *MB*. VII. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Dign Or.* xxviii. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, XIX. 215 f.; *PW*. IV. 326 ff., 350 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Arrian, Ect.* i; cf. p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> D. XIV. (82 A. D.).

<sup>6</sup> D. XXI (90 A. D.); D. XL (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.); *CIL*. XIII. 7246; cf. p. 219, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Tac. Ann.* ii. 17. 6; cf. p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*. XIII. 7583; 7584; p. 469 (teg.); D. XL (116 A. D.). *CIL*. XIII. 7047 (Mainz); 6240 (Worms) also perhaps refer to soldiers of this cohort.

<sup>9</sup> XIII. 7462 (139 A. D.); 7465 (212 A. D.); [7466] (222/235 A. D.); 7444; [7445; 7452]; 7457; 7460; [7468]; 7469; 7470; *CIRh.* 1431 d (teg.); L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, p. 290. Tegulae have also been found at Butzbach: *CIL*. XIII. p. 447.

<sup>10</sup> X. 6976.

<sup>11</sup> D. CIII.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL*. VIII. 17900, cf. p. 207.



*Cohors IIII Raetorum equitata*<sup>1</sup> was encamped in Cappadocia from the time of Hadrian on,<sup>2</sup> in the later empire being at Analiba in Armenia.<sup>3</sup>

*Cohors V Raetorum* was in existence under Hadrian.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors VI Raetorum* served at Vindonissa in Germania superior,<sup>5</sup> and was in existence by 103/111.<sup>6</sup> It may or may not be the same as *cohortes VI Valeria Raetorum*; cf. p. 219.

*Cohors VII Raetorum equitata*<sup>7</sup> was in Germania<sup>8</sup> superior<sup>9</sup> from the first century; it was located at Vindonissa,<sup>10</sup> and later, in the early part of the third century, at Niederberg near Coblenz.<sup>11</sup>

*Cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum* served in Pannonia under Domitian.<sup>12</sup> It won the title *civium Romanorum* in Trajan's Dacian war, afterwards remaining in Dacia.<sup>13</sup>

*Cohors Raetorum et Vindelicorum* in the first century formed a part of the army in Germania superior;<sup>14</sup> it perhaps fought under Germanicus in 16 A. D.<sup>15</sup>

*Cohors Raetorum*. In some cases it is quite impossible to decide which of the above is meant,<sup>16</sup> or indeed whether there is a reference to *cohortes Raetorum* at all.<sup>17</sup>

*Cohors I Vindelicorum (miliaria)*<sup>18</sup> probably took part in Hadrian's Jewish war,<sup>19</sup> and in 157 was in Dacia superior.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> X. 6976. The number is restored with a fair degree of probability in XI. 3101, the cursus of a prefect whose remaining military career was in the East.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Ect.* 1; p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* xxxviii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL*. VIII. 8934.

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 344. 8, 9 (teg.); *CIL*. XIII. 5382 (Vesontio).

<sup>6</sup> III. 5202.

<sup>7</sup> XI. 5669.

<sup>8</sup> D. XI (74 A. D.); D. XIV (82 A. D.); *CIL*. II. 3237.

<sup>9</sup> D. XXI (90 A. D.); D. XL (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.).

<sup>10</sup> Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 344. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL*. XIII. 7735; 7736 (under Caracalla or Elagabalus); 7736 a; p. 497 (teg.); also 7684 (Andernach); p. 496 (Höhr); p. 499 on n. 7765 (Niederbieber).

<sup>12</sup> D. XIII (80 A. D.); D. XVI (84 A. D.); D. XVII (85 A. D.).

<sup>13</sup> D. XXXVII (110 A. D.); Jung, *Dac.* p. 121; Vaschide, p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> *CIL*. XIII. 7048 (Mainz); 6242 (Worms).

<sup>15</sup> P. 223.

<sup>16</sup> XI. 5387.

<sup>17</sup> *CIRh.* 3.

<sup>18</sup> *CIL*. X. 4873; *Ann. Ep.* 1904, 24; with less certainty, *CIL*. III. 3562; 11906.

<sup>19</sup> So Cichorius (PW. IV. 350) infers from the name of the soldier for whom D. LXVI was issued.

<sup>20</sup> D. LXVI; *CIL*. III. 1343; perhaps also III. 8074. 25 (teg.), cf. 8075. 1 b, c (teg.). Jung, *Dac.* p. 122; Vaschide, p. 173.



*Cohors II Vi(ndelicorum)* was perhaps located at Carnuntum in Pannonia superior.<sup>1</sup>

[*Cohors III Vindelicorum*]: no inscriptions are preserved.

*Cohors IIII Vindelicorum* garrisoned Grosskrotzenburg<sup>2</sup> in Germania<sup>3</sup> superior<sup>4</sup> and there manufactured bricks for use along the whole German limes.<sup>5</sup>

#### LOCAL MILITIA FROM RAETIA.

In the early empire the Raetic militia remained in the province;<sup>6</sup> after the arrival of the legion it could be spared for service abroad.<sup>7</sup> So during the second and third centuries a vexillatio Raetorum gaesatorum was stationed in the north of Britain<sup>8</sup> under the command of a trib(unus) coh(ortis) I Vang(ionum),<sup>9</sup> and a [n(umerus)] g(a)esatoru[m] garrisoned Atuatuca in Belgic Gaul.<sup>10</sup>

In the period following Diocletian, Raeti formed a part of the guard of the comes Illyrici,<sup>11</sup> and Raetobarii (?) attended the magister equitum praesentalis of the East.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III. 15204<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> XIII. 7410; 7411 (191 or 211 A. D.); 7415; 7418; 7419; p. 443 (teg.).

<sup>3</sup> D. XI (74 A. D.).

<sup>4</sup> D. XXI (90 A. D.); [D. XL] (116 A. D.); D. L (134 A. D.); CIL. XIII. 7331 (Heddernheim).

<sup>5</sup> Tegulae have been found at the following points: Alteburg bei Walldürn, Miltenberg, Obernburg, Niedernberg, Stockstadt, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Friedberg, Echzell, Arnsburg, Langenhain, Saalburg (CIL. XIII. pp. 264, 279, 281, 286 f., 289, 469, 302, 440, 445-447, 449), Feldberg (ORL. Abt. B, no. 10, p. 54); am Maisel, Alteburg-Heftrich (CIL. XIII. p. 455), Holzhausen (ORL. Abt. B, no. 6, p. 42), Arzbach, Niederberg, Heddesdorf, Niederbieber (CIL. XIII. pp. 496-499); Neuenheim near Heidelberg (CIL. XIII. p. 224). The bricks in Raetia (CIL. III. 381\*, Salzbrunn near Cambodunum) were brought from Frankfurt.

<sup>6</sup> P. 219.

<sup>7</sup> If VIII. 2728 has been correctly interpreted, (Raeti) gaesates were employed at Saldae in Mauretania Caesariensis even under Pius (147-152 A. D.).

<sup>8</sup> VII. 731 (Aesica, 162/169 A. D.); 987; 988; 1002 (211-217 A. D.) (Habitancium); EE. VII, n. 1092 (Jedburgh near Edinburgh). See also p. 223.

<sup>9</sup> P. W. IV. 346 f.

<sup>10</sup> CIL. XIII. 3593.

<sup>11</sup> Not. Dign. Occ. v. 43 = 191 = vii. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Not. Dign. Or. v. 17 = 58.



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